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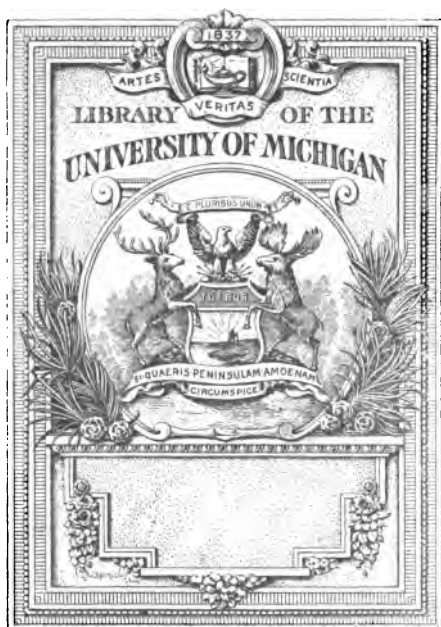
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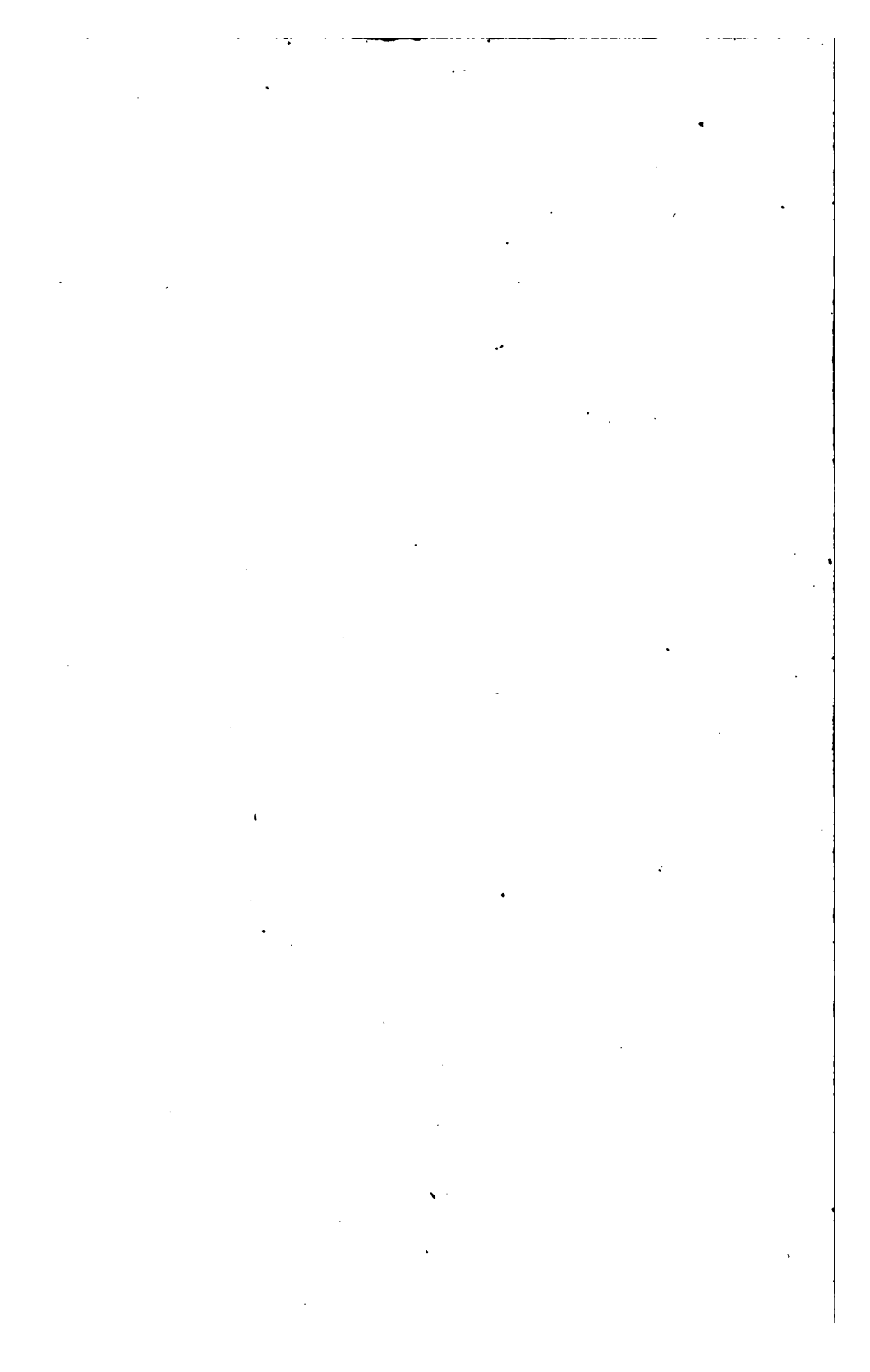


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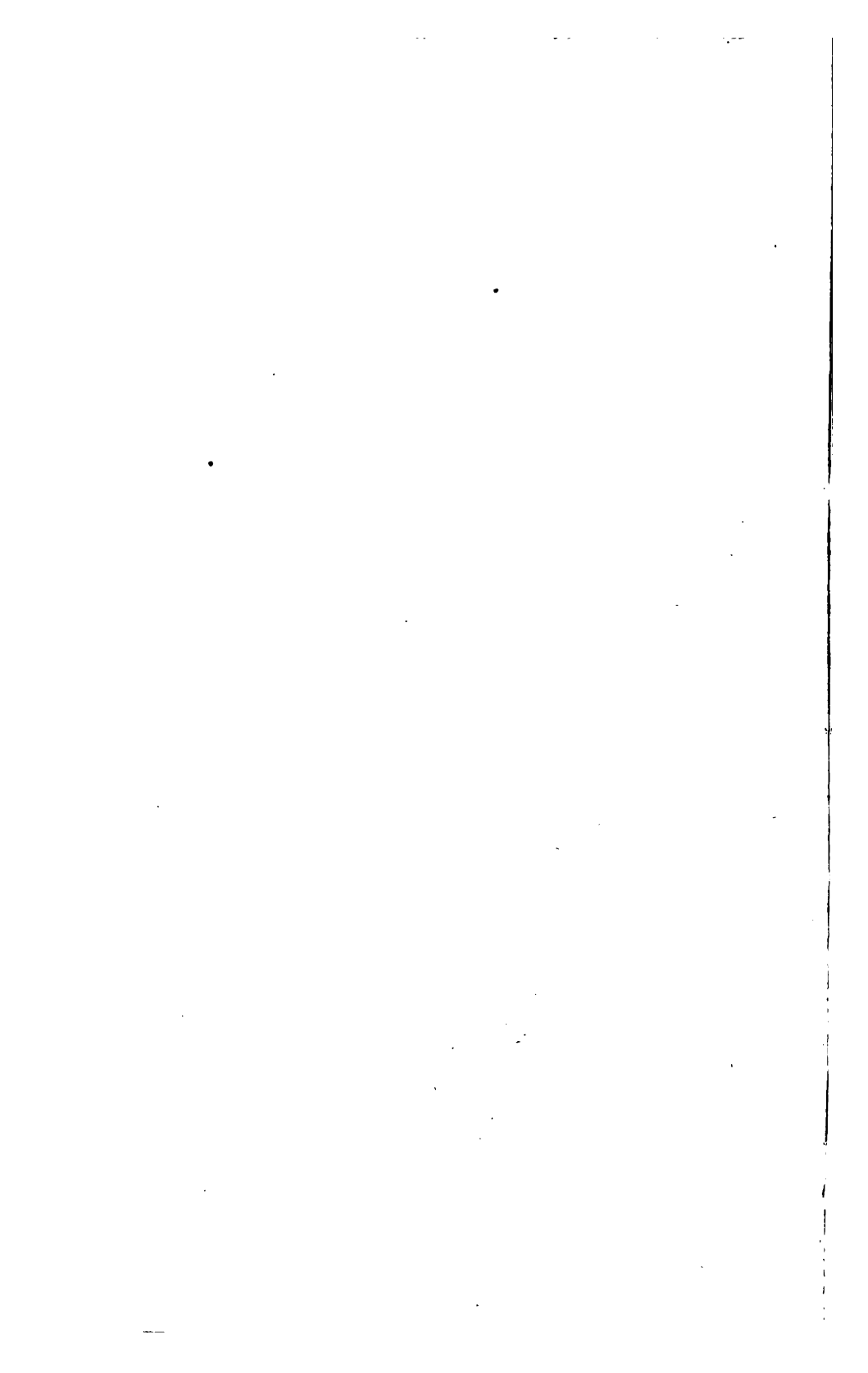
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THE  
**CLASSICAL JOURNAL:**

FOR

MARCH AND JUNE, 1829.

VOL. XXXIX.

ὦ φίλος, εἰ σοφὸς εἶ, λάβε μ' εἰς χέρας· εἰ δέ γε πάμπαν  
Νηῖς ἔφυς Μουσέων, ῥίψον ἅ μὴ νοέεις.

EPIGR. INCERT.

T

London:

PRINTED BY A. J. VALPY,  
RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

SOLD BY

LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN; C. AND  
J. RIVINGTON; PARKER, OXFORD; BARRET, CAM-  
BRIDGE; MACREDIE AND CO., EDINBURGH;  
CUMMING, DUBLIN; AND ALL  
OTHER BOOKSELLERS.

1829.

*The Numbers are regularly published on the first of April, July, October, and January. Subscribers may, therefore, have them with their Reviews and Magazines, by giving a general order to their Booksellers.*

*The former Numbers may now be had of all the Booksellers, Price 6s. each ; or in complete sets.*

*Articles are requested to be sent one month at least before the day of publication, directed to the Printer, Red Lion Court.*

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THE  
CLASSICAL JOURNAL;

N<sup>o</sup>. LXXVII.

MARCH, 1829.

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ON COMPOUND WORDS IN THE  
ANCIENT LANGUAGES.

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THE ancient languages have a great advantage over modern languages by the facility with which they form their compounds. The Greek, especially, is inexhaustible in compounds; the Latin is not half so rich, and many of the Latin compounds are only found in the old poets. Even the German language possesses a far greater store of compounds than the Latin. The modern Greek still uses a number of them in familiar conversation. On examining the mode in which compounds are formed, we find that two originally independent words are united by means of a vowel, or sometimes without it, or by joining the two words in such a manner that the flexion of the first word can be preserved.

Compounds are beautiful when *two* ideas are comprehended in *one* image, but much less beautiful if one idea is expressed by two words. Thus the Latin *malus, vinea, lotrix, mulctra*, and many others, are preferable to the English *apple-tree, vineyard, washer-woman, milk-pail*.

The vowel by which compounds are formed is always a short vowel.

(*A.*) in the Latin *i*: this is not the *i* of the *casus*, because we find it after all nouns of every declension and gender, even after such, which occur only in the plural.

Instances of the first are: *stilli-cidium, sylvi-cola, terri-cola, virgi-demia*, (as *vin-demia*, a *demendo*), *causi-dicus, aquli-fer, stelli-fer, bacci-fer*, &c. *lani-ficus, aqul-folium, terri-gena, ali-ger, barbi-ger, lani-ger*, &c. *nugi-gerulus, herbi-gradus, aqul-legium, spici-legium, capri-mulgus, equi-mulgus, sagitti-potens*.

Instances of the second declension are: *ligni-cida, galli-cinium, auri-fer, anni-fer, belli-fer, caduci-fer*, &c.; *lucri-ficus, dei-ficus*, (as *dei-loquus, dei-para*), *veli-ficus, auri-fodina, argenti-fodina, au-*

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ri-fur, cocli-gena, armi-ger, belli-ger, armi-lustrum, hirci-pes, soni-pes, lucri-peta, hirci-pilus, armi-potens, belli-potens, vini-potor, fœni-secium, lecti-steruim.

Instances of the third declension are: muui-ceps, muri-ceps, parti-ceps, homi-cida, infanti-cida, lapi-cida, and lapidi-cida, (from the old lapis, gen. lapis, lapicida,) matri-cida, parri-cida (pro patricida), regi-cida, muri-cidus (Plautus, a coward, a rat-catcher), marti-cola, monti-cola, rupi-cola, ruri-cola, pietati-cultrix, juridicus, flori-fer, frondi-fer, frugi-fer, imbri-fer, &c. morti-ferus, arti-fex, carni-fex, &c.: honori-ficus, muni-ficus, cruci-fixus, melli-fluus, rori-fluus, æri-fodina, ossi-fragus, aquiloni-gena, serpenti-gena, soli-gena, marti-genus, crini-ger, flori-legium, hæredi-peta, vesti-plicus, auri-scalpium, vesti-spicus, sangui-suga, su-ovitaurlia, monti-vagus, nocti-vagus, igni-vomus, carni-vorus.

There are few instances of the fourth declension: algi-ficus, arci-potens, corni-cen, corni-ger, corni-pes, domi-duca, domi-porta (snail), flucti-cola, flucti-gena, fructi-fer, geli-cidium.

Of the fifth declension I know no example, except some words of barbarous Latinity, as speci-ficus from species; perhaps fideicommissum, rei-vindicatio, may also be quoted.

In compounds with adjectives the adjective may again belong to the first three declensions.

Examples of the first and second declension: parvi-collis, unicaulis, uni-cornis, uni-jugis, miseri-cors, vani-dicus, veri-dicus, soli-ferreus, magni-ficus, largi-fluus, alieni-gena, tardi-gradus, magni-loquus, multi-loquus, versuti-loquus, vivi-para, fissi-pes, longi-pes, solidi-pes, tardi-pes, multi-scius, alti-sonus, rauci-sonus, soli-vagus, alti-volans.

Example of the third declension: omni-gena, omni-medens, brevi-loquus, blandi-loquus, dulci-loquus, gravi-loquus, suavi-loquus, gracili-pes, levi-pes, levi-somnus, &c.

Sometimes the vowel which unites the two words together is wanting, if the second word begins with a vowel: celt-iberi, pusillanimis, sun-ambulus, somn-ambulus, noct-ambulo; sometimes also before consonants: man-ceps, man-cipium p. mani-ceps, (cf. muni-ceps,) man-suetus p. mani-suetus, Gr. χειρο-ῆθης, vin-demia p. vindi-demia, (cf. virgi-demia,) sol-stitium p. soli-stitium, (cf. armi-stitium,) puer-pera p. pueri-pera, as pueri-cida, perhaps also lus-cinia; or is the derivation from lux and cano false, and is luscinia from luscus, luscinus, therefore luscinia, the blinded singing-bird?

*Avi* sinks into *au*: nau-fragium p. navi-fragium, au-ceps, aucupium, p. aviceps, avi-cupium, au-gur p. avigur.

The letters of derivation remain in the first word, as the examples of the third declension show; infant, infant-i-cida: hence it is clear that infans, pons, pietas, stand for infant-s, pont-s, pietat-s, as in the Greek *ἑπρωτος*, *ἑπυρς*, *ἑπως*.

Lapidi-cida, lapi-cida, prove a double form lapid-s, and lap-is: unless lapicida is a contraction.



We must notice the falling-off of the *in* in the words *homi-cidium*, *sangui-suga*, not *homini-cidium*, *sanguini-suga*. There is no Latin compound, where the *in* is preserved ; for the word *semini-verbius* is of latter formation ; it enters, however, partially into derivations, as *graminosus*, *seminosus*, *ominosus*, &c.

The *i* and *u* of the derivation gives way to the vowel of composition, as the examples of the fourth declension show ; scarcely any compounds are formed with those that end in *ia* and *ius* : the long vowel of *tibicen* is formed by *tibi-i-cen* ; but why is the *i* short in *medi-dies*, *medi-terraneus*, *medi-tullium* ?

The *u* sometimes absorbs the vowel of composition ; thus we find *arcu-potens*, *cornu-peta* : *manu-factus*, *manu-missus*, *manuscriptus*, are improper compounds by means of the ablative case of the noun : *manu-pretium* stands for *manus-pretium*, and *domutio* probably for *domum-itio*.

Has the *qu* in *hirqui-tallus*, *sterqui-linium*, where we have also *hirci-tallus*, a *u* of derivation ? This *qui* is not found in compounds of *acus*, *arcus*, *pecus*, *specus*, *lucus*, *quercus*, &c.

The first word is sometimes obscure, e. g. *aru-spex*, or *haruspex*, cf. *au-spex* p. *avi-spex*, *meri-dies* from *merus* ? or p. *medi* ? Sometimes the second word, as in *mani-festus*.

The composition produces new adjectives from substantives without the vowel of derivation ; as *levi-somnus*, *magn-animus*, *hirci-pilus*, *longi-pes*, *miseri-cors*, and with the vowel of derivation in *pusill-animis*, *parvi-collis*, (cf. *im-berbis*, *im-bellis*, *de-pilis*, &c.) Can compounds of verbs be formed ? Generally they can only be formed from compound nouns ; consequently *tergi-versor* presupposes a *tergi-versus* : the composition with the participle, as *altivolans*, *omni-medens*, does not seem to establish a rule for the rest of the verb.

Those which end in *-fico* (they are very numerous), *ædi-fico*, *ludi-fico*, *lucri-fico*, *melli-fico*, *nidi-fico*, *turpi-fico*, *veli-fico*, &c. are grounded on words with *-fex* ; but those in *-fero*, *-feror*, as *voci-fero*, *pesti-fero*, (adject. in *-fer*,) *magni-facio*, *floc-ci-facio*, *floc-ci-pendo*, *parvi-duco*, *parvi-facio*, *parvi-pendo*, do not seem to be derived from nouns : they might be improper compounds with the genit. *floc-ci*, *magni*, *parvi*, if it were not for *vili-pendo*, which can hardly come from the gen. *vilis*.

Compounds of verbs with verbs are all in *-facio* and *-fio* : *cale-facio*, *frige-facio*, *labe-facio*, *ol-facio* p. *ole-facio*, *pate-facio*, *putre-facio*, *nigre-facio*, *terre-facio*, *torre-facio*, *tume-facio*, &c. where the *e* is not the vowel of composition, but the *e* of the second conjugation, although no such form as *labeo*, *nigreo*, exists. It may have existed. *Cale-facio* is not a compound of *calere-facio*, as it might appear, for the vowel *e* in *cale-facio* is short ; and we have also the compounds *cale-fio*, *tepe-fio*, and where we cannot think of an infinitive. Why do verbs of the first, third, and fourth conjugations not form such compounds ? Those in *-eo* are all intransitive.

(B.) The Greek vowel for forming compounds of nouns of every gender and of every declension is *o*. There is an immense number of such compounds, and we shall only give a few examples.

From the first declension: *ἀραχνο-ῥήης*, *γεο-ειδής*, usually *γεω-ειδής*, *ἡμερο-φύλαξ*, *κορο-κόσμιον*, *μελισσο-τρόφος*, *νικο-ποιός*, *νυμφο-γενής*, *ὕλο-δρόμος*.

From the second declension: *ἔργο-θήκη*, *γερανο-μαχία*, *ἵππο-νόμος*, *μυλο-κόπος*, *οἰκο-δόμος*, *ὄνο-ειθής*, *σκοτο-μήδης*, *ροδο-δάκτυλος*, *στρατο-λόγος*, *ταυρο-βόλος*, *τοπο-γράφος*, *τοξο-βόλος*, *ὕπνο-φανής*, *χρυσσο-φανής*.

From the third declension: *μελιτο-ειδής*, *μυο-μαχία*, *νυκτο-ειδής*, *ὄρνιθο-λόχος*, *πιτνο-κάμπτης*, *πνευματο-ποιός*, *ποδο-στράβη*, *ρίνο-βύλος*, *φοινικο-τρόφος*, *χειρο-μαντεία*, *χιονο-βόλος*.

And with adjectives of the first and second: *αὐτο-κύριος*, *γυμνο-πόδης*, *ἰσο-βαθής*, *καλο-διδάσκαλος*, *μεσο-φανής*, *ὁμοιο-παθής*:—of the third: *ἀρσено-γενής*, *μελανο-κόμης*, *τερενο-πλόκαμος*.—(With regard to the Greek declensions, we refer to Matthiæ's Gr. Grammar.)

If sometimes an *η* and *α* appear instead of the *ο* of composition, it appears to be derived in the first declension from the flexion. For instance: *δαμαλη-φάγος*, *δαφνή-φαγος*, with *δαφνο-γενής*, *δαφνο-φόρος* (Lob. ad Phryn. 634—638.), *νυμφα-γενής*, *κορυφα-γενής*, *μιτρα-φόρος*, with *μιτρο-φόρος*, *μιτρο-χίτων*, *νυμφο-γενής*, *νυμφό-κλαυτος* (Lob. p. 641.). But then also substantives of the first and second declension and adjectives have the *η*, *θαλαμη-πόλος*, *ὀμφαλη-τόμος*, (Lob. p. 650 seq.) *ἀνθη-φόρος*, *ἀχθη-φόρος*, *στεφη-πλόκος*, *βοτρυη-φόρος*, *βοη-νόμος* (Lob. 679, 680.). How can we account for it? Are the dialects wavering between *ο*, *α*, *η*, or is it poetical licence?

The accent very often falls on the vowel of composition, especially if the second word stands in a passive signification, and where the relation of the first word to it can be expressed by a preposition; e.g. *ἱππό-νομος*, also *ἵππο-νόμος*, *λιθο-βόλος*, and *λιθό-βολος*, throwing stones, and thrown with stones. Cf. Buttman Gramm. § 106, 9, 3.

In other cases no such distinction can be made; e.g. *ροδό-κοιτος* and *ροδο-δάκτυλος*, *μελανό-κομος* and *μελανο-κόμης*, the different accentuation does not change the meaning of the words.

The vowel of composition is wanting, 1. when the second word begins with a vowel, *τοπ-άρχης*, *κυν-αλώπης*, *ποδ-ώκης*; but it appears sometimes before *ει* and *ε*, *ἀγαθο-εργός*, *καλο-εργός*, *μονο-ειδής*, *κυνο-ειδής*; by contraction *η* and *ου*: 2. sometimes after *ν*, *μελαγ-χρής* p. *μελανο-χρής*, *μελάμ-φυλλος* p. *μελανό-φυλλος*: 3. as in the Latin *ναυ-βάτης*, *ναύ-κληρος*, and others.

The letters of derivation remain, and especially the vowels *i* and *u* in derivations with *voc. pur.*; e.g. *πολιο-ειδής*, *εἰρνο-δίνης*, *ἰχθυο-νόμος*, *ἰχθυο-φάγος*. The vowel of composition is oftener lost, as *ἰχθυο-φάγος*, *εἰρνο-δίνης*, *γλυκυ-δερεής*, *δορυ-μαχος*, *πλατύ-φυλλος*, *ταχυ-πῶρος*, *μελι-πρής*, *πολι-πύρρος*, *νυκτι-φανής*. Remarkable also is

αἴμο-χαρής p. αἵματο-χαρής, like sangui-suga p. sanguini-suga.

In the second word adjectives change by the composition the -*us* into -*ης*: βαθύς, ἰσο-βαθύς; βαρύς, γυιο-βαρύς; θαρσύς, λυκο-θαρσύς; ἡδύς, μελι-ηδύς, &c. Cf. Lobeck ad Phryn. p. 534 seq. Thus also φανός, and comp. -φανής, and the substantive εἶδος and the comp. -ειδής, the Latin animus and animis, exanimis.

Compound verbs presuppose nouns: ἐργο-λαβέω, κρεω-φαγέω p. κρεο-φαγέω, μυρο-πωλέω, ὄνειρο-πολέω, οἰωνο-σκοπέω, οἰκο-δομέω, ραβδο-νομέω, τρωγλο-δυνέω, and many others must be derived from ἐργό-λαβοι, κρεω-φάγοι, μυρο-πώλης, ὄνειρο-πόλοι, οἰωνο-σκόποι, οἰκο-δόμοι, ραβδο-νόμοι, τρωγλο-δύτης, &c. Cf. Buttm. § 106. Lobeck ad Phryn. 560 seqq. shows, that we cannot apply any inference from compound participles to the rest of the verb. In the modern Greek such words as νυκτο-φυλάσσω occur.

The languages derived from the Latin, the Italian, Spanish, and French, have lost the power of forming compounds. It is true they have preserved some Latin compounds; e. g. Ital. artificio, edificio, fruttifacio, multiplice, manifesto, magniloquo, grandiloquo, naufragio, &c.; Span. agricultura, amplificar, cuellierguido, cuelliercorto, veridico, &c.; French, manifeste, magnifique, artificier, multiplier; but these compounds are not felt as such, but as simple words: nor can these languages form any new compounds. In the old French, we meet with some compounds without the vowel of composition, as fer-armé, iron-armed; fer-vesti, iron-clothed; pié-poudreux, foot-dusty.

Improper compounds are seldom found in the Latin, as with the gen. legis-lator, trium-vir, duum-vir: the gen. follows generally. In the Greek such compositions with the genitive are more frequent, especially with proper names: διός-κορος, διός-πολις, ἑλλήσποντος, ἄλος-ἄχνη, sea-foam, for ἄλως ἄχνη; ὕδατος-ὑδνη; κυνός-βατος, κυνός-ουρα, ἀνδρός-αιμον, βύσ-πορος; μνός-ωτον; ὀνού-γναθοι, name of a promontory in Laconia; νεώς-οικος; ὄσι-τάμος. Sometimes compounds are formed of analogous names; e. g. λεοντό-πόδιον; ὀνό-πορδον; ὀνό-χηλος; λυκό-πουα. The σ remains in λυκοσί-ουρα.

Compounds with dative and ablative are found in Latin in adjectives and part. præ.; as manu-fortis, manu-captus, mente-captus, acu-pictus, acu-pictor, usu-capio. But these instances are very rare: in the Greek, however, there are a great number of them; e. g. ἄλι-βατος, ἄλι-δινής, νυκτι-λαμπής, νυκτι-πόρος, πρι-φλεγής, δορι-πετής, δορι-τμητος, γαστρι-δουλος, ποδι-κροτος, χειρί-σοφος, ἔγχει-βρομος (hasta furens) ἔγχει-μαργος; ὄρει-βάτος (in monte ambulans) ὄρει-δρόμος (in monte currens); ἔγχεσι-μωρος (hastis pugnans); ἔντεσι-εργος (in armis laborans); ναυσι-βάτης (nauta) ναυσί-θοος (navibus celer) ναυσι-κλυτος (navibus clarus); ὄρεσι-βάτης (per montes ambulans) ὄρεσι-τροφος (in montibus altus); τελεσι-δρομος (ad fines currens). Sometimes the last *i* is dropped:

ταλεις-φόρος (ad finem perducens); ἔγχεσ-φόρος (hastifer, ἔγχετ-παλος lanceam vibrans); ἐπέσ-βολος (rixosus); κερατ-φόρος (corniger, κερατ-βόλος); σακίτ-παλος (clypeum vibrans); σακεσ-φόρος.

What is the reason that compounds are only formed with datives of the third declension, and not with datives of the first and second? Might not, in ὁδοι-πόρος, ὁδοι-πλανής, πυλοι-γενής, σκοτοι-βόρος, the *οι* arise from the *φ*, and the *αι* from *α* in γυναι-μανής, so that we need not have recourse to γυναικο-μανής? But this does not apply to κελαι-νεφής p. κελαινο-νεφής: cf. Lob. p. 647.

In many cases the vowel of composition is used, in order to form a euphonious composition, instead of the dative; e. g. ὄρο-κτυπος (in monte sonans), χειρό-κτυπος, σακο-φόρος, κ. τ. λ.

Compounds with the accusative are rarely found: ἔως-φόρος and φωτ-φόρος seem to be instances of accusatives, since we find also φωτο-φόρος. The Latin anim-adverto comes evidently from animum adverto.

Mere apposition with full flexion of both words takes place in the Latin res-publica, jus-jurandum, usus-fructus, gen. rei-publicæ, juris-jurandi. The frequent use of these words was the cause of the apposition.

The Latin words bene-ficium, bene-volus, male-ficium, male-sanus, and the Greek εὖ-εργός, δυσ-εργής, are compounds of adverbs, as in French bien-fait, mal-fait, bien-vaillant.

The Greek language has compounds of a particular kind, which cannot be found in the Latin or German languages. The idea which stands first occupies, in the usual compounds, the second place. The compounds of this kind are not very numerous, but of a bold cast.

The first word is a verb, generally in the future, rarely in the present. The following are examples of the present: ἀγέ-στρατος, dux, army-leader; ἀκείρε-κόμης hair-cutter; ἀρχέ-κακος auctor mali, ἀρχέ-λαος princeps, ἀρχέ-πλουτος auctor divitiarum, ἀρχέ-χορος p. χορηγός; δακέ-θυμος; ἔλκε-τρίβων, ἔλκε-χίτων; ἔχε-θυμος, ἔχε-νήϊς; μενέ-λαος populum sustinens? populum expectans? μενέ-μαχος pugnam sustinens, μενέ-χαρμος; τελέ-αρχος minister, τελέ-νικος perficiens victoriam; τρεχέ-δειπνος ad epulas currens; φερέ-βοτρυς, φερέ-ζυγος jugifer, φερέ-κακος ferens malum, φερέ-νικος, φερέ-οικος domi-porta; φιλ-άδελφος amans fratrem, φιλ-αίμων sanguinari-  
us, φιλ-έλλην, φιλ-έσπερος.

Examples of the future are: ἀγεσί-λαος dux populi, ἀγεσί-χορος dux chori; ἀερσί-νοος animum extollens, ἀερσί-πους pedes cito movens; ἀλφесί-βοιος hoves nanciscens; ἀρχесί-μολπος cantum ducens; ἔλκεσί-πεπλος, ἔλκεσί-χειρος, ἐνοσί-γαιος terram quatiens, ἐνοσί-φυλλος folia quatiens, ἐνοσί-χθών terram quatiens; ἐρασί-μολπος cantum amans, ἐρασι-πλόκαμος cirrum amans, ἐρασι-χρήματος avarus; ἐρυσί-θριξ crines pectens, ἐρυσί-πολις urbem servans, ἐρυσί-σκεπτρον, ἐρυσί-χθων terram arans, ἐρυσί-γαῖος; δαμασί-βροτος homines domans,

δαμασί-φρων domans animam ; δεισι-δαίμων deum timens, δεισι-θεός ; δεξι-δωρος dona ferens, δεξι-μηλος donans oves ; δεξι-θυμός mordens animam, δεξι-χερής mordens manum ; διωξι-κέλευθος incitans ad iter, διώξι-ιππος agens equos ; ζευξι-λέως p. λαός subjugans populum, ζεύξι-ιππος jugans equos ; κινήσι-φυλλος folia movens, κινήσι-χθων terram movens ; κλεψί-γαμος mœchus, κλεψί-νοος furens animum, κλεψι-τόκος clam pariens ; κρατησι-μαχος vincens bello, κρατησι-πους pede fortis, κρατης-ιππος domans equos ; λυσι-γαμος solvens conjugium, λυσι-δικος solvens litem, λυσι-ζωνος distinctus, λυσι-μαχος solvens pugnam, λυσι-μελής solvens membra, λυσι-μέριμος solvens curas ; λυσι-πονος solvens labores, λυσι-φρων solvens mentem ; μελησι-μβροτος p. μελεσι-βροτος qui in cura hominum est ; νηξι-πους natans pedibus ; όρσι-κτυπος ciens turbas, όρσι-νεφής nubes cogens ; πανσι-λυκος sedans dolorem, πανσι-νοσος medens, πανσι-νύσταλος pellens somnum ; πεισι-μβροτος homines moderans, πεισι-χάλινος freno obediens ; πηξι-ιππος (ιππό-δαμος) ; πηγεσι-μαλλος lanam figens, firmans, and then firmus lana ; ρυσι-διφρος currum regens, ρυσι-πολις urbem servans ; σεισι-χθων terram movens, σεισι-φυλλος folia movens ; στρεψι-μαλλος lanam crispans, and then crispus ; ταμεσι-χως secans cutem ; ταραξι-κάρδιος cor quatiens, ταραξι-ιππος ; τερψι-βροτος exhilarans homines, τερψι-νοος, τερψι-χορος ; τισι-φονος cœdem ulciscens ; φαεσι-μβροτος hominibus lucens ; φιλησι-μολπος amans cantum, φιλησι-στέφανος ; φθισι-βροτος hom. perdens, φθισι-φρων mentem perdens ; ώλεσι-θυμος animam perdens, ώλεσι-καρπος fructum perdens, ώλεσι-οικος domum perdens, ώλεσι-τεκνος liberos perdens, κ. τ. λ.

From the second word of these compounds other forms have been introduced, e. g. from ένοσιφυλλος, κινήσιφυλλος, σεισιφυλλος ; such as φυλλοχόος, φυλλοσινής, φυλλόρροος. The latter cannot be considered as proper compounds ; for the vowel of composition is wanting, and we observe a verbal flexion, whereas every verbal flexion is excluded from compounds. We cannot account otherwise for compounds of this kind, than that they arise from two words being forced together, like όρεσι-τροφος, ναυσι-πορος. Some might appear to be formed from feminines ; e. g. κινήσι-φόρος, τερψι-χορος, from κίνηαις and τέρψις ; but this is not the case ; for λυσι-μαχος, ρυσι-πολις, have, like the future λύσω, ρύσω, a long ν, whilst the feminine λύσις, ρύσις, θύσις, φύσις, χύσις, have a short one.

The άγε, άρχε, in άγέ-λαος, άρχέ-λαος, is evidently a form of the imperative præs., and therefore άγεσι-λαος, άρχεσι-λαος, being parallels to the former, might be antiquated forms of a future imperative. We know the grammars do not exhibit any imperative nor any subjunctive in the future, although this tense does not necessarily reject those moods. According to the analogy of aor. 1. imper. σείσον, φιλήσον, the fut. 1. imp. might have been σείσει, φιλήσει. The great antiquity of such an imperative shows itself in the forms άγεσι, άρχεσι instead of άξι, άρξι, although the fut. imp. of these

words standing by themselves, is *ἄνω*, *ἄρξω*, instead of *ἀνίσσω*, *ἀρχέσω*. We find, however, also, *διώξι* and *κλέψι* in the compounds; but again *λείψ-ήνορ* p. *λείψ-άνδρος*, and *λειπό-δερμος* circumciscus; together with *λειπό-δερμος*. The second word of such compounds was originally dependent on the transitive verb; but in time the case was forgotten, and a genitive was formed of the new compound, as in English the Wife of *Bath's* tale.

*Λυσί-μαχος* arose undoubtedly from *λυσι-μάχην*; but the flexion was thrown off, and the termination *ος* was added to the compound. These remarks will suffice to show the difference between *δακέ-θνος* and *θυμο-δακής*, or *μισ-άρστρος* and *άρστρο-μισών*, *λεξι-θης* and *θηρι-λεξής*. Cf. Lob. p. 628. Sometimes these compounds have after the present and future the vowel of composition; e. g. *λειπό-γαμος*, *λειπό-θυμος*, *φιλό-τεκνος*, *φιλό-στροφος*, *μισό-παις*, *μισό-ξενος*, *λειψό-θριξ*, *σεισο-πυγίς*, *σεισό-φυλλος*, p. *λειπέ-γαμος*, *λειψί-θριξ*. But these may be considered as exceptions from the general rule. As the language was wavering between *ῥεσι-τροφος* and *ῥό-τροφος*, so from *σεισι-φυλλος* an irregular word *σεισό-φυλλος* was formed.

Sometimes the first word is not a verb, but a noun. The union again takes place by means of the vowel of composition; as, *κλυτό-καρπος*, *κλυτό-τοξος*, *ἵππο-γέρας*, *ἵππο-πόταμος*. These compounds are against the general rule, for one would expect *τοξό-κλυτος* (*arci potens*), *καρπό-κλυτος*, &c.

The Latins have some compounds of the same kind; e. g. *motacilla*, *motans*, *agitans caudam*, from *cilla*, an old word for *cauda*. Does *mulci-ber* come from *mulce-ferrum*? *Flexanimus* (Varro, Nonius, Catull.) p. *flect-animus*, seems to be an imitation of *πλεξι-θυμος*. But *flexare* may have been used for *flectere*. The *Romanic* languages abound in this sort of compounds: Ital. *bacia-mano*, *bacia-pile*, *bacia-polvere*, *caccia-lupi*, *caccia-diavoli*, *guarda-corpo*, *guarda-boschi*, *passa-tempo* (pastime), *porta-mantello*, *taglia-borse*, *tira-boschi*, *torna-sole* (heliotropium), *torna-letto*. Spanish: *besa-mano*, *gana-pan*, *guarda-fuego*, *guarda-joyas*, *lora-duellos*, *mira-sol* (heliotropium), *mata-buey*, *mata-candelas*, *monda-dientes*, *monda-orejas*, *passa-mano*, *passa-tiempo*, *quita-cuidados*, *quita-pesares*, *saca-mano*, *saca-mancha*, *saca-muelas*, *saca-peloras*, *tira-sol*. French: *baise-main*, *brise-fer*, *casse-cou*, *casse-noix*, *casse-tête*, *choute-pleure*, *chasse-chien*, *chasse-cousin* (sour wine, which drives a friend out of the house), *chasse-ennui*, *chasse-loup*, *chasse-mouches*, *chasse-rage*, *chauffe-chemise*, *chauffe-lit*, *chauffe-pied*, *chausse-pied*, *coupe-gorge*, *coupe-tête*, *cure-dent*, *cure-oreille*, *cure-pied*, *gagne-denier*, *gagne-pain*, *garde-bon*, *garde-corps*, *garde-chasse*, *garde-feu*, *garde-manger*, *hoche-queue* (*motacilla*), *perce-muraille*, *porte-chaise*, *porte-voix*, *tire-bouchon*, *tourne-broche* (turn-spit), &c. These examples show that the second word is an accusative, and this accusative is sometimes even of the plural number. The Greek language proceeds more boldly, by suppressing the flexion,

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and by adding to the second word new terminations, which are again used for every gender; e. g. *παρθέναι ἀλφειο-βοῖαι*. The English language has also compounds of this kind; as, break-fast, break-neck, break-stone (*saxi-fraga*), hang-dog, kill-cow, kill-buck, *Shake-spear* (*ἐγγέσπαλος* or *σεῖσεγγος*), smell-smock, toss-pot, whip-hand, wry-neck, fare-well, hold-fast, look-out, run-away. But the Anglo-Saxon has no such compounds.

Those who cannot bring themselves to consider the first word of *ἀγέ-λαος* as an imperative, will find that other languages have such compounds with an imperative: forget me not, rendez-vous. We know that *ἄγεσι, φέρεσι* in *ἀγεσί-λαός* might be derived from the 3. p. sing. pres. ind., but the verbs in *μι* do not form their compounds in this manner.

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### OBSERVATIONS

*On the Power of the "Ictus Metricus" in Virgilian Hexameters; embracing some Remarks on Position, Elision, &c. By HENRY W. WILLIAMS, author of "A Critical Investigation of the Versification and Prosodial Usages of the Iliad and Odyssey," &c.*

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THE expression "*Ictus Metricus*," or "metrical accent," is used by critics to designate that stress of the voice, comprising both loudness and acuteness, which is laid on particular syllables in the recitation of every verse. Its position is regulated by the nature of the metre, as being Iambic, Trochaic, Anapæstic, Dactylic, &c.; and it is thus that it differs from the prosaic or common accent, which is placed, in prose, on every word, according to its own peculiar character, and not according to its connexion in the sentence. The stress of the voice constituting accent naturally communicates to the syllable on which it rests a particular and characteristic importance; and associated with this stress of the voice is a slight increase of length of utterance, since the accent when resting on a vowel contributes to protract its sound, and when resting on a consonant causes it to reverberate in a greater or less degree. Hence it follows that accent, though in its own nature perfectly distinct from quantity, has a necessary connexion with the length of syllables; and thus, if a syllable be accented, which of itself approximates nearly to a long one, it acquires, in consequence of its reception of the

accent, sufficient prominence and force to be considered a long syllable. This is the foundation of the doctrine of the lengthening efficacy of the ictus metricus: a doctrine of the highest importance to the versification both of Homer and of the Attic Tragedians, and of considerable service as it regards the poems of the great Roman, Virgil. Its utility is evident in the annexed lines, among many others, since on no other principle can the metrical usages they exhibit be consistently justified:

Ecl. vi. 53. Ille latus niveum molli fultus hyacintho.

Geor. ii. 5. Muneribus, tibi pampineo gravidus autumnus.

Ibid. 71. Castaneæ fagus, ornusque incanuit albo.

iv. 92. (Nam duo sunt genera) hic melior, insignis et ore.

Æn. i. 651. Pergama cum peteret, inconcessosque Hymenæos.

Ibid. 668. Litora jactetur, odiis Junonis iniquæ.

Æn. ii. 563. Et direpta domus, et parvi casus Iuli.

iii. 504. Atque idem casus, unam faciemus utramque.

It is usual with some to say, that the syllables in question are lengthened in consequence of the cæsural pause; but how a metrical pause made after a syllable can add length or give prominence to that syllable, it is certainly no very easy task to ascertain. We assume then, on the authority of these lines, what indeed, abtractedly considered, is in the highest degree probable, that the ictus metricus has an influence on Virgilian versification; and simply premising that in dactylic verses both the dactyl and the spondee are accented on the first syllable, we proceed to specify those cases in which, we conceive, that influence was allowed by the discriminating judgment of the Roman bard.

The first case to be noticed involves a partial consideration of that important subject to metrical science, *elision*. In his "Institutes of Latin Grammar," Mr. Grant, following the Eton, divides elision into two parts, *Synalœpha* and *Ecthipsis*, which terms he thus defines: "*Synalœpha* cuts off the final vowel or diphthong of a word, when the following word begins with a vowel or diphthong."—"Ecthipsis cuts off the final *m* and the preceding vowel, the following word beginning with a vowel." To this method of treating the subject we most decidedly object, since we consider it not only defective, but to a great extent erroneous. It may be stated as a general rule in Greek prosody, that a final long vowel or diphthong may be made to coalesce with another vowel or diphthong, but cannot be elided unless in cases of peculiar emergency: and when we consider the affinity that subsists between the versification of the Greek and Latin languages, as far as regards Epic poetry,



## *Ictus Metricus in Virgilian Hexameters.* 11

we may naturally expect that some restrictions were made on the elision of a long vowel or diphthong, in that of the latter as well as in that of the former. But what is the fact? Virgil has not once, in the course of his *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Æneid*, elided a final long vowel or diphthong before an initial short one, so for the syllable to be short; and we hesitate not to affirm that such an usage is inadmissible in correct hexameters. The general figure, Elision, should, we conceive, be subdivided into the three following particulars: Elision proper, Synalœpha by crasis, and Ecthlipsis, which may be thus distinguished:

Elision proper cuts off a final short vowel before a word beginning with a vowel, either simple or preceded by the letter *h*, causing it to be wholly dropped in pronunciation.

Synalœpha by crasis makes a final vowel or diphthong coalesce with an initial vowel or diphthong, the two invariably forming by their junction a long syllable.

Ecthlipsis cuts off the final *m* and vowel preceding, when the following word begins with a vowel.

Each of these three figures, it is to be observed, contracts the two words into one as far as relates to recitation; and the metrical pauses are consequently to be made as if the two words were one.

But if a final long vowel or diphthong cannot be cut off before another vowel, but only blended with it in pronunciation, it is necessary to affix to it some positive and definitive character in reference to quantity; inasmuch as it must be at the will of the poet whether it shall or shall not coalesce with the succeeding syllable. Nor are we at a loss to assign to it this positive character; for nothing is more probable than that it is equivalent, in respect of quantity, to a long vowel or diphthong similarly situated in Homeric poetry, being by a species of elision too short to constitute of itself a long syllable, but yet much longer than the bulk of short syllables. And hence we derive the first general remark respecting the influence of the *ictus metricus* in Virgilian poetry; viz.

When a final long vowel or diphthong precedes a word beginning with a vowel or the letter *h*, and does not coalesce with the first syllable of that word, it acquires, from the power of the *ictus metricus*, sufficient importance to be considered a long syllable in *arsis*, though it is too short to be so considered in *thesis*.

To substantiate this rule, we here adduce all those verses of Virgil's poems on which it bears; those marked with an asterisk are deserving of particular notice:

- Ecl. 11. 24. Amphion Dircaeus in Actæo Aracyntho.  
 65. Te Corydon, ð Alexi: trahit sua quemque voluptas.  
 111. 6. Et succus pecorī, et lac subducitur agnis.  
 63. Munera sunt, laurī, et suave rubens hyacinthus.  
 \* 79. Et, "longum, formose, vale, valē," inquit, lola.  
 \* vi. 44. Clamassent: ut litus, Hylā, Hylā, omne sonaret.  
 \* vii. 53. Stant et juniperī, et castaneæ hirsutæ.  
 viii. 41. Ut vidi, ut periī, ut me malus abstulit error.  
 44. Ismarus, aut Rhodopē, aut extremi Garamantes.  
 108. Credimus? an, quī amant, ipsi sibi somnia fingunt?  
 x. 12. Ulla moram fecere, neque Aoniā Aganippe.
- Georg. I. 221. Ante tibi Eoæ Atlantides abscondantur.  
 \* 281. Ter sunt conatī imponere Peliō Ossam.  
 332. Aut Athō, aut Rhodopen, aut alta Ceraunia telō.  
 11. 86. Orchades, et radiī, et amara pausia bacca.  
 111. 60. Ætas Lucinam justosque patī Hymenæos.  
 155. Arcebis gravido pecorī; armentaue pascēs.  
 iv. 343. Atque Ephyrē, atque Opis, et Asia Deīopeia.  
 461. Implērunt montes: fierunt Rhodopeiæ arces.
- Æn. I. 16. Posthabita coluisse Samō. Hic illius arma.  
 617. Tunc ille Æneas, quem Dardaniō Anchisæ.  
 \* 111. 74. Nereidum matrī et Neptunō Ægæo.  
 211. Insulæ Ionio in magno: quas dira Celæno.  
 iv. 235. Quid struit? aut qua spē inimica in gente moratur.  
 667. Lamentis gemituque et fœmineō ululatu.  
 v. 261. Victor apud rapidum Simoënta sub Iliō alto.  
 735. Consilia, Elysiumque colō. Huc casta Sibylla.  
 vi. 507. Nomen et arma locum servant. Tē, amice, nequīvi.
- vii. 178. Antiqua e cedrō, Italusque, paterque Sabinus.  
 226. Submovet Oceanō, et si quem extenta plagarum.  
 631. Ardea, Crustumérique, et turrigeræ Antemnæ.  
 ix. 291. Hanc sine me spem ferre tuī: audentior ibo.  
 477. Evolat infelix, et fœmineō ululatu.  
 647. Antiquum in Baten. Hic Dardaniō Anchisæ.  
 x. 18. O pater, ð hominumque Divumque æterna potestas.  
 136. Inclusum buxō, aut Oricia terebintho.  
 141. Mæonia generose domō: ubi pinguis culta.  
 156. Externo commissa ducī. Æneia puppis.
- Æn. xi. 31. Servabat senior, qui Parrhasiō Evandro.  
 xii. 31. Promissam eripui generō, arma inopia sumpsī.

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*Æn.* xii. 535. Ille ruenti Hyllō animisque immane frementi.

The second regulation which we have to give, relative to the influence of the ictus metricus on Virgilian poetry, is of equal moment with the one just considered, and, like this, intimately connected with a most important subject to metrical science—we mean *position*. Respecting position, the Eton Grammar has the following remarks: “Vocalis ante duas consonantes, aut duplicem, in eadem dictione, ubique positione longa est. Quod si consonans priorem dictionem claudat, sequente item a consonante inchoante, vocalis præcedens etiam positione longa erit. At si prior dictio in vocalem brevem exeat, sequente a duabus consonantibus incipiente, interdum, sed rarius, producitur. Vocalis brevis ante mutam, sequente liquida, communis redditur.” Mr. Grant writes, “A vowel before two consonants, one or both of which are in the same word with it, or before any of the double consonants, *j, x, z*, being likewise in the same word with the vowel, is long by *position*. If the former word ends in a short vowel, the next word beginning with two consonants, or a double consonant (*x* or *z*), the vowel often remains short. A vowel naturally short, followed by a mute and a liquid, both in the following syllable, is common.” These rules are generally adopted among the learned; but several scholars of eminence, among whom may be mentioned Dr. Carey, are of opinion, that no two consonants, or double consonant, at the beginning of a word, can lengthen a preceding final short vowel. They accordingly affirm, that in the following lines, and a vast number of others, in which a short final vowel is lengthened before a mute followed by a liquid, the vowel is lengthened *in itself* by *cæsure*:

*Geor.* i. 371. Euriquē Zephyrique tonat domus; omnia plenis.

iv. 396. Drymoquē Xanthoque Ligeaque Phyllodoceque.

*Æn.* iii. 702. Immanisque Getā, fluvii cognomine dicta.

viii. 425. Brontesquē Steropesque et nudus membra Pyracmon.

xii. 443. Antheusquē Mæstheusque ruunt: omnisque relictis.

And that, in the annexed verse,

*Æn.* ix. 37. Ferte citi fenrum, date telā, scandite muros,  
the final *a* in *tela* is made long by the figure diastole, or by pure poetic licence.

In entering on a brief consideration of the general subject, we must observe that the lengthening of a syllable by position ensues from the delay occasioned to the utterance by the occurrence of two unyielding consonants: which delay, however,

only takes place when one or both of the consonants are to be pronounced immediately after the vowel, and not when both are to be separated from it in pronunciation, by an intervening vocal pause. On this principle it is that the first two rules of the Eton Grammar are founded; and, if true, the sentiments of Dr. Carey on the subject of the third rule must also be founded on this principle. To this principle, however, the advocates of these sentiments do not appear to have been sufficiently attentive; and in endeavoring to establish their doctrine, they seem not to have regarded the difference in recitation between poetry and prose. We certainly think that there is no reason why, in pronouncing the first of the above lines, *que* in *Eurique* should be separated from *Zephyrique*; or why, in pronouncing the last, *tela* should not be connected with the initial *s* of *scandite*. That this latter procedure is not of the most elegant kind we readily admit; still it was certainly more allowable than arbitrarily to change the quantity of the last syllable of *tela*; and as to the former, it is an usage the most correct and proper, since according to no consistent theory of reciting hexameter verses can a pause be made in the middle of a foot after so unimportant a word as the particle *que*. The only regulation that can be made relative to the quantity of the syllables referred to must be of a general nature, as follows: "When the vowel is so situated, as to be separated in pronunciation from the succeeding consonants, the syllable is short; and when the vowel is so situated, as to be connected in pronunciation with one or both of the succeeding consonants, the syllable is long."

With regard to the fourth rule of the Eton Grammar, though it is correct as containing a general representation of the fact of the case, yet it is defective as furnishing no explanation of the principles of the usages in question. It may with propriety be subdivided into the two following regulations, the latter of which exhibits the influence of the ictus metricus on Latin prosody in a most important particular:

1. When a syllable formed by a short vowel, followed by a mute and one of the liquids, is so situated as to have a metrical pause made after it, its quantity depends on the vowel being joined to one of the consonants, or separated from both by that pause. So,

Ecl. 1. 53. Et fontes sãcros frigus captabis opacum.

vi. 54. Illice sub nĩg,ra pallentes ruminat herbas.

1. 32. Pan primus calamos cera conjungerẽ, plures.

vi. 42. Caucasasque refert volũ.cres furtumquẽ Promethei.

## *Ictus Metricus in Virgilian Hexameters. 15*

It may be proper to mention here our belief, that a very slight metrical pause was made after every foot in reciting Latin as well as Greek hexameters. See on this subject the first part of the "Critical Investigation of the Versification and Prosodial Usages of the Iliad and Odyssey."

2. When a syllable formed as above is so situated as not to have a metrical pause after it, it is to be considered long or short, according as it does or does not receive the metrical accent; the two consonants, of themselves, requiring little more exertion to be pronounced together than a single consonant requires. So,

Ecl. v. 11. 36. Si fœturâ gregem suppleverit, aureus esto.

Geor. 1. 235. Quam circum extremæ dextra lævaquē trahuntur.

320. Sublime expulsam eruerent: ita turbine nigro.

11. 217. Quæ tenuem exhalat nebulam, fumosque volûcres.

We have to observe in the third place, relative to the power of the ictus metricus in Virgilian hexameters, that occasionally, in virtue of it, a final short syllable, formed by a short vowel followed by a consonant, occupies the place of a long syllable; as in the verses cited in the beginning of this treatise, and the following:

Ecl. 1. 39. Tityrus hinc aberât. Ipsæ te, Tityre, pinus.

x. 69. Omnia vincit amôr: et nos cedamus amori.

Georg. 1. 138. Pleiâdâs, Hyadas, claramque Lycaonis Arcton.

1v. 463. Atque Getæ, atque Hebrûs, atque Actias Ori-  
thyia.

Æn. 1. 308. Qui teneant, (nam inculta vidêt,) hominesne,  
feræne.

x11. 883. Te sine, frater, erît. O quæ satis ima dehiscat.

The instances of this usage in Virgil's poems amount in number to more than fifty.

We remark, fourthly, that in three cases a short syllable, formed by a short final vowel before an initial consonant, is put for a long one, in consequence of the lengthening efficacy of the ictus metricus. The verses referred to are,

Æn. 111. 91. Liminaquē, laurusque Dei: totusque moveri.

464. Dona dehinc auro graviâ, sectoque elephanto.

x11. 363. Chloreaquē Sybarimque Daretaque Thersilochem-  
que.

It should appear that this usage is not only of very rare occurrence, but is also restricted to the case when the initial consonant is a liquid, or the letter s.

Lastly, the metrical emphasis occasionally enables the first syllable of rêligiô, rêliquiâ, rêpërît, rêtüllit, quâtûôr, and a few

of individuals who have lately returned from the East. Sir Wm. Ouseley mentions (in the account of his travels) that he procured several Zend and Pahlavi works from the fire-worshippers or Parsees of Bombay, and from their brethren of the same religion, the Gabrs, in Persia; and among those manuscripts perhaps the most curious are two or three vocabularies of the ancient dialects, written in the Zend, Pázend and Pahlavi characters, and explained in the modern Persian. Such works we may justly regard as literary treasures; and in this department they should certainly be the first selected for publication. Without some lexicographical assistance the knowledge of various characters must prove an acquisition rather tantalizing than useful. The engraved tables given by Anquetil du Perron in his "*Zendavesta*," would in a few days enable any person to acquire a sufficient acquaintance with the Zend and Pahlavi alphabets; but his vocabularies are brief and imperfect, the words being expressed in our common French or English letters, as he wanted types capable of representing them in their original and proper characters. To remedy such a defect, the metal types of Dr. Hyde might be successfully employed in printing those vocabularies above mentioned, with the explanations in modern Persian, English, or Latin, and some philological notes. Assisted by a manual of this kind, our Orientalists would easily ascertain whether the Zend and Pahlavi Mss. that have not yet been examined are more worthy of translation than those which afforded to Anquetil du Perron the materials for his *Zendavesta*: a work abounding with information respecting the religious opinions, rites, ceremonies, liturgies, and prayers of the modern Parsees, or fire-worshippers; but still leaving much of historical, geographical and antiquarian matter (subjects more generally interesting) to be sought in other Zend and Pahlavi writings with which we are hitherto unacquainted.

I had written so far, and was preparing to offer this article for insertion in the *Classical Journal*, when an odd coincidence induced me to protract it, and gratified me at the same time by showing that ancient Persic literature is not wholly neglected, as I had begun to apprehend. From an ingenious member of the Royal Asiatic Society, Mr. Huttman, I received a roll very neatly and accurately lithographed, in length about six feet and a half, and in width nearly fifteen inches; it is printed on different sheets pasted together, and consists of twelve compartments: the first describing what the others contain, with some useful and interesting observations on the *Zund* and *Puhlwoe* characters, as those names are generally written by Englishmen who have learned Persian in Hindústan, although Sir Wm. Jones expressed the same words by *Zend* and *Pahlavi*, much more in conformity with the true pronunciation of Shiráz and Isfahán, as I have been assured by gentlemen who resided many years in Persia, and were inti-

mately acquainted with some of the Gabrs or fire-worshippers of Yezd and other places. According to the same corrupt system of pronunciation, a book which native Persians would call *Sad-der*, (or *Sad-dar*, the *a* in *dar* being short,) is here written *Sud-dur*: this name signifies "the hundred gates." The first compartment of the roll is not numbered: that marked No. 1. exhibits an extract from the book *Sad-der*, the Goozuratee translation incorporated with the original Zend, each in its proper character, the language being Persian. No. 2. The original text without the Goozuratee; Zend character. No. 3. The same text translated into Zend and Pahlavi, with the modern Persian underwritten. No. 4. A Sanscrit translation. No. 5. Persian text of No. 2. No. 6. Goozuratee (Jutee) translation of No. 2. in the language of Malwa. No. 7. Modern Goozuratee translation. No. 8. The first section or chapter of the *Sadder* in its poetical version. No. 9. Dr. Hyde's Latin translation of No. 8. No. 10. The text No. 1. language Persian, in Zend and Pahlavi characters, "to show the different modes of orthography and of employing the same or cognate letters," &c. No. 11. The Persian, Pahlavi and Zend alphabets. Now, however useful these specimens may be to those who study the different characters exhibited in this roll, we must regret that the labor and ingenuity employed on them have not been expended on some more interesting subject than the *Sadder*: a most contemptible work, of which Dr. Hyde (in his "*Religio Veterum Persarum*") has given a Latin translation, and which, after all, are (as Mr. Richardson says in the Dissertation prefixed to his Arabic and Persian Dictionary,) nothing more than "the wretched rhymes of a modern Parsi destour (priest) who lived about three centuries ago." To our best thanks, however, the gentleman is fully entitled, under whose direction and at whose expense these specimens have been executed—Mr. Romer, lately chief at Surat, now member of council at Bombay: and I am persuaded that if his researches among the fire-worshippers or Parsees had been successful, he would have favored us with specimens of Zend and Pahlavi works more interesting and more useful (such as the vocabularies above mentioned) than the *Sadder* with its "*hundred gates*."

P. Q.

## AN INQUIRY INTO THE TRUTH OF HISTORY.

No. II.—[Continued from No. LXXVI.]

“Oh sir, I pray you tell me of curtesie, have you heard any thing of the news, that you so much inquired for in your countrey?”—*Spenser's View of the State of Ireland.* Vol. viii. p. 398. of *Todd's edition of Spenser.*

### HERODOTUS.

TO those who may have read my former article, little apology will be necessary for postponing the intended remarks on the Pelasgi,<sup>1</sup> till we have endeavored to ascertain what degree of credit is due to the history of Herodotus. For whether Bellerophon be Nebuchadnezzar or not, Herodotus ought not to be confounded with Homer; and he who asserts that Nebuchadnezzar must have found a place in poetry, is bound to admit that the conqueror found a place in history also; and if we reject Labynetus the peace-maker as his representative, we must do our best to identify him with Cambyzes the madman. But how will this agree with the credit of “the Father and Prince of History?” the author whom Mitford so often and so highly praises:<sup>2</sup> “the honest histo-

<sup>1</sup> τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἄργον ἄμεινον. What is Pelasgic, had better be let alone: an oracular answer which will not frighten me from resuming the subject, but which seems to show that the Pythia was not ignorant of the prophecy, which declared that the Ammonites should be driven out every man right forth, and that none should gather up him that wandered. In one respect, however, I have fulfilled the oracle; for some words, which should have been inserted in the text to identify the vagabond and fortune-telling gypsies with the Pelasgi, have by an unlucky blunder been applied to the Carians and Chaldeans.

<sup>2</sup> Moses, David, Solomon, and Nebuchadnezzar, will be found to have acted many parts in the heathen drama. Nebuchadnezzar may be recognised not only in the Bellerophon, who attempted to fly up to heaven, and the Sesostris, who became blind and destroyed himself; but also in Lycaon, Midas, and Cambyzes, and in the serpent who destroyed the companions of Cadmus; in the serpent Python, whose death caused so much rejoicing; and in the monster Typhon, who murdered Osiris and dispersed his limbs; i. e. who ravaged Egypt, and scattered the Egyptians. Perhaps the wildest, and at the same time the truest, story is that of the Argonauts: the wildest, because the Prophet Elijah is turned into the sorceress Medea; the truest, because the Argonauts may really be said to have *fetched back* the golden fleece, when by plundering Jehoram they repaid themselves for the bond-service which Laomedon,



## *An Inquiry into the Truth of History.* 21

rian of the age,"<sup>1</sup> whose "usual simplicity,"<sup>2</sup> "simple honesty,"<sup>3</sup> "scrupulous honesty and modesty,"<sup>4</sup> and "honest scruple,"<sup>5</sup> are duly noticed, and whose "place in ancient history can be supplied by no other author:"<sup>6</sup> who, as Larcher tells us, "*ne s'est proposé d'autre but que la vérité*;"<sup>7</sup> and who, in the same author's opinion, is very much to be esteemed for "*l'exactitude de ses recherches*:"<sup>8</sup> whose inquiries were not confined to his own country, but who visited Tyre and Egypt for the sake of correct information.

Undoubtedly we must make very free with the credit of the Father and Prince of History; but in this we shall only follow the example of Mitford himself, whose insertions, omissions, and alterations sufficiently prove that Herodotus is not to be relied on.

"Mr. Richardson,"<sup>9</sup> says Mitford, "has observed that the revenue of Persia, according to Herodotus's account, was very unequal to the expenses of such an expedition as that attributed to Xerxes." Mitford does not dispute the fact, but he excuses Herodotus, without perceiving, or at least without acknowledging, that Herodotus himself ought to have guarded against an observation so unfavorable to his judgment; and that if no satisfactory account is given of the ways and means of the great king, a still stronger objection arises from our very defective information as to the ways and means of the European Greeks, not to say from the impossibility of reconciling the unavoidable expenses of their warfare with their poverty.

If the principal circumstances of the expedition fell necessarily under the eyes of thousands, had not Herodotus sufficient means

i. e. Solomon, had laid on them, and probably regained what David had taken from them. Should the reader wish to trace the original of the war of Thebes, he has only to put the alliance with Egypt for the deliverance from the Sphinx; Zedekiah for Œdipus; and Coniah, who had the burial of an ass, for Polynices: the prophetic and weeping Jeremiah will explain the story of that Teiresias who was turned into a woman, and whose daughter dissolved into a flood of tears. The Harpies are said to have been locusts; but the locusts are so far from polluting what they leave, that they eat up every thing eatable, and so far from being filthy, that afterwards they are eaten themselves. The original Harpies, the sons of Eli, did pollute what they touched; and the famine, which Virgil's Celeno is made to predict, was fulfilled literally in those who begged for a morsel of bread. My explanations may have seemed strange; it will be stranger still to believe what we read of the Argonauts, the Sphinx, &c. &c.

<sup>1</sup> P. 126. vol. 2.      <sup>2</sup> P. 16. vol. 2.      <sup>3</sup> P. 118. vol. 2.

<sup>4</sup> P. 199. vol. 2.      <sup>5</sup> P. 38. vol. 2.

<sup>6</sup> P. 39. vol. 2. I have used the third octavo edition.

<sup>7</sup> Preface, p. ii. It is amusing to compare Larcher's praise of Herodotus with his censure of Bruce.

<sup>8</sup> Vie, p. lxxii.

<sup>9</sup> P. 32. vol. 2, note.

of ascertaining that a mare did not bring forth a hare ; and instead of blaming Xerxes for not attending to prodigies which never could have happened, ought we not to blame those who trust an historian who can relate and believe absurdities ? If even after the victory of Salamis the Greeks refused to advance from Ægina to Chios, and were with difficulty prevailed on to advance as far as Delos ; if Herodotus accounts for this unwillingness by alleging the inexperience of the Greeks, and their belief that Samos was as far distant as the pillars of Hercules ;<sup>1</sup> should not this acknowledgement have awakened suspicion in the mind of the English historian, and made him doubt whether "a territory on the Asiatic shore, 400 miles in length, eminent for richness of soil and beauty of climate," was in reality colonised by adventurers from those nations which had gained so little knowledge of that territory ?

If "the reader should cast his eye on the map, and see there what Ægina is," should not Mr. Mitford himself have learnt from a similar inspection that the merchant-pirates of that barren rock could not have made the exertions which Herodotus has inscribed to them ? If the confederate army at Plataea was more than half composed of slaves, should not Mr. Mitford have asked himself what could have induced these slaves to fight against the Persians, and how 5000 of the Spartan citizens of the most cruel of all slave-owners could have been safe when supported by 35,000 Helots ?

"Never was human nature degraded by system to such a degree as in the miserable Helots. Every possible method was taken to set them at the widest distance from their haughty masters."<sup>2</sup> How fit were these to be companions in arms !

Thucydides mentions that more than 20,000 Athenian slaves revolted to the Lacedæmonians<sup>3</sup> in the Peloponnesian war ; yet the Lacedæmonians were noted for their inhumanity ; and in the time of Xenophon the Athenian slaves seem to have enjoyed some little degree of comfort, for Xenophon<sup>4</sup> complains of their sauciness, and sauciness is not the vice of the oppressed and miserable. If, therefore, the slaves revolted from the Athenians to the Lacedæmonians, may we not infer that if 35,000 Helots had found themselves armed, disciplined and united at Plataea, they would have thought of something else than fighting for their taskmasters ? The slaves of the Argives had already set them an example of rebellion ; and though that rebellion was at last crushed, the issue would not have discouraged the Helots in their present circumstances.

<sup>1</sup> Book viii. c. 132.

<sup>2</sup> History of Greece, vol. i. p. 334.

<sup>3</sup> Book vii. c. 27.

<sup>4</sup> De Rep. Ath. lib. i. c. 10.

Thucydides tells us, that the Helots who fought under Brasidas were rewarded with their liberty on their return.<sup>1</sup> Liberty was promised to those who should succeed in conveying provisions to the blockaded Spartans; and as we are not told that the Helots who fought under Brasidas distinguished themselves particularly, may we not conclude that their liberty was given them in consequence of a previous promise? The conclusion will be authorised by Thucydides, who tells us, that before these Helots set out, 2000 of their countrymen had been crowned and paraded about as freemen. Now what was the number of the Helots who set out with these hopes, under the command of the able and popular Brasidas? They were but 700;<sup>2</sup> and yet the Spartans could not trust even this small number with Brasidas, till they had secretly made away with the 2000, whom they had publicly honored and paraded about as freemen. Herodotus, however, is not fastidious. Helots remained to perish with Leonidas at Thermopylæ; but the circumstance is noticed incidentally only: 40,000 Helots fought at Platæa, but those who fell were not honored with the same burial as their haughty masters; neither are any of the survivors said to have been released from their slavery.

"C'est la soupe qui fait le soldat." The Lacedæmonian black broth was not famed for its invigorating qualities; but on military service "many indulgences were allowed, insomuch that the camp was to the Lacedæmonians the scene of ease and luxury."<sup>3</sup> Undoubtedly, the means of ease and luxury may be procured by iron; but were they ever purchased by iron money? Such, however, is said to have been the money of the Lacedæmonians; and we may learn from Polybius,<sup>4</sup> if common sense should not be thought sufficient authority, that the iron coin of Sparta bore no premium abroad. Shall we obviate this financial difficulty, by presuming that the Lacedæmonians were subsidized by the Athenians, or that they took sufficient provisions with them, or that they found supplies in the neighbourhood of Platæa?

<sup>1</sup> Lib. v. c. 34.

<sup>2</sup> According to Mitford, these 700 were not slaves. "After this shocking and dastardly precaution," [the murder of the 2000 Helots,] "the Spartan ministry less scrupled to send a part of their force on a foreign expedition. Still, however, they would allow no more than 700 Lacedæmonians," &c. Vol. iii. p. 293. In his note he gives his reason for thinking that Thucydides meant to be so understood.

<sup>3</sup> Mitford, vol. i. p. 327.

<sup>4</sup> The iron money of Sparta would form an interesting subject for the political economist; and we shall be much obliged to the antiquary who would give us some account of the different coins. According to Polybius, (lib. vi. c. 49, 50.) iron money and barter could not provide for the wants of the Spartans in their maritime expeditions, or in the wars which they carried on beyond the limits of Peloponnesus.

As the Eubœans had been obliged to purchase the continuance of the allied fleet at Artemisium,<sup>1</sup> and as the Spartans in advancing from Peloponnesus would not only leave their intrenchments, and march against a very superior enemy, but also leave some enemies behind them, they might fairly have stipulated for a subsidy from the Athenians. Herodotus, however, mentions no such circumstance, and the Athenians had no money to spare. Athens was not a commercial state, neither was Attica a fertile country. We are told that the ships had been built with the produce of the silver mines of Laureium; but whatever was the richness of those mines, they had probably ceased to be worked after the battle of Thermopylæ, and the advance of Xerxes. An invading enemy may sometimes contrive to make war support war, but the system failed even in Bonaparte's hands; and although the severe privations and sufferings of the Spanish guerrillas prove that patriotism will endure all the hardships of a defensive warfare, yet few will assert that Spain carried on her war without the aid of money, and that in point of expense it signified not whether the Spanish peasant was employed in war or in husbandry.

The expedition to Tempe,<sup>2</sup> therefore, and the sudden retreat from it; the subsequent advance to Artemisium, the sea-fight there, and afterwards at Salamis; the expedition to Samos, and the furnishing of 8000 men at arms and 8000 slaves for the ensuing campaign in Bœotia, would of themselves have caused very heavy expenses to the Athenian citizens: but in addition to these they had to bear all the expenses arising from the removal of their families, not only at the present time, but in the last year also. The slave population was numerous; and its labor could have produced but little, whether at Salamis, or Ægina, or Trœzene. Attica was

<sup>1</sup> Themistocles told the Eubœans that though words could not persuade, gold might; and for thirty talents, something more than seven thousand pounds sterling, he would engage that the fleet should remain and fight the Persians. The money was presently paid into his hands. Mitford, vol. ii. p. 168. The sequel shows that the Eubœans made a dear bargain; but they could well afford it, if they had so much ready money at such a time.

<sup>2</sup> Themistocles was one of the two commanders; it should follow that the Athenians furnished a considerable part of the forces, or defrayed a very considerable part of the expense: for we are told that it was necessary to give the command of the combined fleet to a Lacedæmonian, though the Athenians contributed no less than 127 ships. If we suppose that Themistocles was joined in command merely on account of his great abilities, we must remember that Themistocles is not said to have held command either at Platæa or Mycæ, although his great abilities had been made so manifest in the events which followed the expedition to Tempe.

now again in the possession of the Persians; and those hosts, which had drunk up rivers, had probably exhausted all the provisions that Attica could furnish in their first visit.

If, therefore, money was to be advanced to the Spartans, the Athenian citizens had not the means of advancing it. The public revenue of Athens may have been increased by the fine, which was imposed on Miltiades and exacted from his son. It is to be hoped, however, that the poverty and not the will of Athens consented to this act of ingratitude and meanness; and as we are told that the ships were built by means of that revenue, which under other circumstances would have been distributed among the people, we may infer that even in peace the state-exchequer had not been overstocked. At present all the offices of government must have been in confusion, for the Athenians were again outcasts from their native country. Themistocles was not the most disinterested of mortals; and at a period not much later, the Athenian magistrates seem to have been strongly suspected of peculation.<sup>1</sup> At this time, therefore, when the Athenians had no homes but in their ships,<sup>2</sup> the public treasury, if not quite empty, could scarcely have contained any thing more than was absolutely necessary for the Athenians themselves. If these remarks have any truth in them, it will be allowed that the Athenians did not subsidize the Lacedæmonians, and the silence of Herodotus is easily accounted for. Indeed, the Athenians themselves would not have failed to mention so important a circumstance, when they upbraided the Lacedæmonians for opposing the rebuilding of their walls.

Shall we adopt the third supposition? Shall we assert that the Lacedæmonians contrived to draw their supplies from the neighborhood of Plataea? There are strong objections to such a supposition. "The Lacedæmonians were joined at the Isthmus by the other Peloponnesians of the confederacy."<sup>3</sup>—"At Eleusis the combined army was joined by the Athenian forces:"—"the army proceeded into Bœotia, and took a position on the roots of Mount Cithæron, opposite to the camp of the Persians, the river Asopus

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<sup>1</sup> In the *Anabasis*, Cheirosophus and Xenophon rally each other on the proficiency of their respective nations in stealing. Demosthenes mentions treasurers, by whom the Opisthodomos or treasury was burnt. Potter, referring to Demosthenes and the Scholiast, tells us that these treasurers having embezzled the public money, secured themselves by that means, and prevented the city from calling them to account. This is no reason for thinking that the public accounts were properly kept during the invasion.

<sup>2</sup> See the observation of Adeimantus, and the answer of Themistocles. (Herod. lib. viii. c. 61.) They relate to the first abandonment of Attica, but they suit the second also.

<sup>3</sup> Mitford, vol. ii. p. 225, &c.

flowing between them.”<sup>1</sup> In such a situation, and while the Persian wealth must have commanded the market, and the Persian cavalry commanded the country, even a Grecian army could scarcely have foraged with success or safety; and their numbers, for they are said to have amounted to 110,000 men, would very soon have exhausted all that could be supplied by the friendly districts of Megaris and Platæa: if, indeed, these districts had suffered so little from the war as to be able to provision their own troops, amounting to 6000 from Megaris, and 1200 from Platæa. Not to mention 1000 Lacedæmonians, whom Herodotus places at Megara immediately after the retreat of Mardonius from Attica.

Shall we therefore adopt the second supposition, as the least improbable, and conclude that the Spartans took all necessary supplies with them? As each Spartan was attended by seven Helots, there would be ample means of conveyance; but as these Helots were to fight, we must allow that they were also to be fed: so that our difficulties are not diminished by the great number of the slaves.

Laconia might be called an exporting country; for “the exchange of the superfluous produce of the earth against useful foreign commodities was permitted by Lycurgus,”<sup>2</sup> and seems indeed to have been the only means of procuring such commodities; but the exercise of husbandry and of the mechanical arts was forbidden to the free Lacedæmonians, and committed to the slaves alone. And we may learn from Adam Smith,<sup>3</sup> that in the manufactures carried on by slaves, more labor must generally have been employed to execute the same quantity of work than in those carried on by freemen; and the same judicious author tells us, “the experience of all ages and nations, I believe, demonstrates that the work done by slaves, though it appears to cost only their maintenance, is in the end the dearest of any.” A person who can acquire no property, can have no other interest but to eat as much and to labor as little as possible. Whatever work he does beyond what is sufficient to purchase his own maintenance, can be squeezed out of him by violence only, and not by any interest of his own. In ancient Italy, how much the cultivation of corn degenerated, how unprofitable it became to the master, when it fell under the management

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<sup>1</sup> Lib. ix. c. 14. Mitford does not notice “this other army” of Herodotus, and the story gains by the omission. But should not Mitford have followed his author more closely, after praising him so highly?

Whoso shall telle a tale after a man,  
He moste reherse, as neighe as ever he can,  
Everich word, if it be in his charge,  
All speke he never so rudely and so large.

<sup>2</sup> Mitford, vol. i. p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> Wealth of Nations, 3rd vol.

of slaves, is remarked by both Pliny and Columella. In the time of Aristotle it had not been much better in ancient Greece. Speaking of the ideal republic, described in the laws of Plato, to maintain 5000 idle men (the number of warriors supposed necessary for its defence), together with their women and servants, would require, he says, a territory of boundless extent and fertility, like the plains of Babylon.<sup>1</sup>

This being the case, the husbandry which was practised in Laconia would raise but little produce that could be called superfluous, and that little would hardly suffice to barter for such articles as were necessary in warfare, and were either not manufactured at home, or manufactured very badly and in small quantities. At the beginning of summer, therefore, and at the close of a great festival, neither meal nor corn would be very abundant at Sparta. Animal food, perhaps, might be plentiful; for at the Hyacinthia and Carneia the Lacedæmonians would probably have offered animals in sacrifice, instead of substituting those cheaper offerings, which their law allowed and their poverty excused. But even thus our difficulties will not be removed.

Xenophon<sup>2</sup> remarks, that expeditions by land were subject to inconveniences in the commissariat department; and they who may be inclined to think that Sparta could furnish the means of provisioning these 40,000 men, will admit that in summer time some care and precaution must be used to hinder the provisions from being spoiled in the conveyance. Was there leisure for such care and precaution?

The ephori,<sup>3</sup> after hearing the advice of Chilaus, immediately, without saying any thing to the deputies, while it was yet night, sent out 5000 Spartiates, and seven Helots with each of them. When it was day, the deputies, who knew nothing of the departure, came before the ephori, and in answer to their reproaches were informed, to their great surprise, that the army sent against the Persians had probably reached Oresteum<sup>4</sup> by that time.

We have lately been informed that facts are the dross of history. Had they been called the ore of history, the observation would have been less startling; but whether the facts just related are dross or ore, they require some attention. In the first place, they show that the resolution of the ephori was sudden; in the next place, they show that this sudden resolution was put in practice with great suddenness and great secrecy; and in the third

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<sup>1</sup> Wealth of Nations, 2nd vol.

<sup>2</sup> De Rep. Athen. c. 2. s. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. lib. ix. c. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Oresteum, according to Larcher, is "à cinq ou six lieues au nord-ouest de Sparte."

place, they will show that the measure itself was one which it was very difficult, not to say impossible, to execute with either suddenness or secrecy.

That the resolution was sudden might be proved, if further proof were wanted, from the language with which the deputies from Athens, Megaris and Platæa, addressed the ephori on the next morning: "You, O Lacedæmonians, remaining here at home, celebrate the Hyacinthia, and amuse yourselves;" and from their having formed a determination to return home: but let us attend to the suddenness of the execution. A summer's night is not long; and as the deputies had a long journey to take, they probably were early in their attendance on the morrow: yet by that time the troops were presumed to have reached Oresteum. Forty thousand men had been collected and equipped, and had already marched some distance before the deputies were aware that the resolution had been formed.

The relation of Herodotus is very brief; but how much is comprised in it! Thucydides describes two expeditions, the one close following the other, in which the Lacedæmonians, who in his opinion were apt to be dilatory, exerted themselves with vigor. Both of these expeditions were against the Argives; and in the latter of the two, the Lacedæmonians sent back the sixth part of their army for the protection of Sparta. This sixth part consisted of the young and old; and this circumstance, coupled with the terms in which Thucydides describes the setting-out of the expedition, may convince us that the whole disposable force of Laconia was employed on this occasion. There were 7 lochi, 700 skiritæ, and 300 cavalry. Each lochus contained about 512 men; so that the Lacedæmonian troops amounted to 4584 men.<sup>1</sup> Their object was the protection of Tegea, and they halted at Oresteum; and Thucydides declares that in this expedition they used unexampled celerity. Yet the troops employed on this occasion were in all probability the same as those which had just returned from the expedition against the same Argives. The Lacedæmonians had been for some time at war; and in this army the proportion of those who had no command being comparatively very small, as Mitford has observed, subordination must have been maintained without difficulty. If, therefore, the 5000 Spartiates, who set out against the Persians, had used merely the same diligence as those who marched to the relief of Tegea, we might have been well satisfied, considering the silence and secrecy which were observed, and the suddenness of the summons to those who were celebrating the Hyacinthia and amusing themselves. But how was the usual discipline and marshalling to be observed, when each Spartiate was to take with him

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<sup>1</sup> Lib. v.



seven Helots? How much time must have been occupied in assembling from their various drudgery 35,000 of those wretched slaves, whose nature was degraded by system, and for whom no vile office was thought too vile? How much caution must have been necessary in giving arms to those who had suffered every kind of provocation, and whom it was necessary to watch with a cruel jealousy? Let us be content with inferring, that if an army so collected and so suddenly despatched took with them sufficient provisions for three days, they took with them the utmost that their numbers and their sudden departure allowed.

Shall we suppose that provisions were forwarded soon after their departure? Herodotus says nothing of such a measure. "The deputies, having learnt to their great surprise that these 40,000 men were on their march to the Isthmus, set out after them as quickly as possible; and a body of 5000 Lacedæmonians, selected out of the Pericæci, or out of those who dwelt round Sparta, accompanied them." At the battle of Platæa these 5000 Lacedæmonians were attended by 5000 light-armed slaves; and as we cannot imagine that these 5000 slaves would have been trusted by themselves, however eager they may have been to fight for the freedom and glory of their oppressors, we must conclude that the slaves set out with the Lacedæmonians, and consequently that very great despatch was used on this occasion also: for, according to Herodotus, the deputies set off as quickly as possible, and the Lacedæmonians accompanied them.<sup>1</sup>

One and but one more supposition can be indulged, unless we exalt the heroes of Herodotus above the heroes of Homer, and assert that Pausanias and his troops preferred fighting on empty stomachs.<sup>2</sup> We must suppose that the necessary supplies were drawn from the Isthmus and its neighborhood. This supposition will be authorised by Herodotus, who states that near Cithæron the Persian cavalry surprised a convoy of 500 beasts of burden, which were carrying provisions from Peloponnesus to the Grecian camp;<sup>3</sup> and who states afterwards, that the Grecian attend-

<sup>1</sup> *τὴν ταχίστην*. The route through Argolis seems to have been the shortest, either as to distance or as to time; but as the Argives had promised Mardonius to intercept the Spartan forces, we may conclude that this second expedition took the same route as the first, and make *τὴν ταχίστην* refer not to the shortest road, but to the despatch used by the deputies.

<sup>2</sup> "But now, ye warriors, take a short repast;  
And well-refreshed to bloody combat haste.

Pope's *Iliad*, 2d book, v. 451.

The shortness of the repast and the haste are not in the original.

<sup>3</sup> *ἔπαυσαν*. "They killed men and cattle till sated with slaughter, and drove the remainder to their own camp." Mitford. Many convoys were intercepted in the late wars; but we may question whether the

ants,<sup>1</sup> who had been sent for provisions into Peloponnesus, were prevented from returning by the Persian cavalry. If, therefore, the Greek army was provisioned from Peloponnesus after it had marched into Bœotia, we may reasonably infer that it was provisioned from the same source, while it yet remained within the Isthmus.

Have we then got rid of our difficulties at last? Have we reconciled Herodotus and Mitford with probability, and may we end this tedious inquiry? Unluckily we have made no nearer approach to truth than was made by the youthful students who rejected the fables of Æsop in favor of the exploits of Thomas Hickathrift.

In the first place, Peloponnesus could hardly be called a corn country. Very little of Arcadia, its largest province, was in a state of tillage; and Messenia, its most fertile province, was cultivated by the wretched Helots. In the preceding year, corn had been imported from Pontus: the many myriads<sup>2</sup> who began to fortify the Isthmus after the battle of Thermopylæ, were lost to their respective countries as agriculturists. The combined fleet, when assembled off the Isthmus, must have drawn supplies from Peloponnesus; and the confederates who assembled at the Isthmus after the battle of Salamis, and the necessary consumption of the ensuing winter and spring, would have emptied granaries better stocked than those of Peloponnesus.

In the beginning of summer how was an army so suddenly collected and so suddenly despatched, and amounting to 50,000 men at least, to find the necessary supplies on its arrival at the Isthmus? In the time of Demosthenes the agriculturists of Peloponnesus had more leisure, and could scarcely have less skill than

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captors ever slaughtered the bees, which they had the means of driving off to their own quarters. The cattle here mentioned seem to have been used merely as beasts of burden; and the meaning of *ovία* may be restricted to bread, without doing violence to the Greek language or Greek habits. "*Σίτος*, the general term, means bread, as bread with us is the general term for food. There are many instances of the Greeks considering the want of bread as famine; and a very particular one in Roman history. At Avaricum Cæsar's troops had plenty of meat, but no bread; and this was considered by him as a sufficient reason to offer to his army a proposal for quitting the siege." Vincent's Nearchus, p. 230. 2nd edition. *Σίτια, τά. Cibaria, Cibi, præsertim farinacei. Σίτος, ov, í, 1. Frumentum. 2. Cibus quilibet, præsertim farinaceus.* Schweighæuser, Lex. Herodot. How the 500 beasts passed the wall and mound of the Isthmus remains to be explained.

<sup>1</sup> *Ορίωνες*. According to Schweighæuser's Lexicon, *Famuli armigeri, Peditesque*. That these men are not the same as those who accompanied the convoy is very evident: neither can they be the 1000 Lacedæmonians whom we left at Megara, nor a detachment of the slaves. Who then were they, and what were their numbers?

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, lib. viii. c. 71. They all worked day and night.

those of former days ; yet even then Attica drew its chief supplies from Pontus. Peloponnesus is not mentioned as sending corn to a market so ready and so near.<sup>1</sup> Is it not enough to suppose that 110,000 Greeks, when assembled in Bœotia, drew their supplies from Peloponnesus by means which any other nation would have found inadequate, without supposing also that the moneyless 50,000 troops of Sparta were, without delay, provisioned from the neighborhood of the Isthmus? That they were supplied from its neighborhood, if they were supplied at all, seems clear from what is now passing before our eyes. The high price of corn in England is drawing corn from the inland parts of Spain ; and the blockade of the Dardanelles has obliged the Turks to get corn by land-carriage. The harvest in Spain has been abundant, and the price of corn is very low in the inland parts ; but the expense of land-carriage will be very great, and the corn very dear to us : the expense will be very great in Turkey also.

In defiance of our own experience, shall we maintain that the Peloponnesians exerted themselves to collect corn for those who had no money to pay for it ?

It is true that in his first expedition Don Quixote thought that knight-errants were to travel scot-free ; but he was convinced by the reasoning of the inn-keeper, and provided himself with money when he next sallied forth. We have allowed the Lacedæmonians to march to Tempe and back, and to maintain a navy without any visible means of defraying the expense : let us be content with this romancing, lest in our liberality to the Lacedæmonians we should starve the Athenians, who, crowded as they are in the little isle of Salamis, and driven a second time from their own country, must also procure their supplies from Peloponnesus.

Herodotus is consistent in his extravagance : there is so far method in his madness, that a campaign which began with wonders is continued and finished in like manner. "Mardonius," says Mitford, "seems to have been naturally disposed to extraordinary things." His conduct on the present occasion was indeed most extraordinary. As the son-in-law of the warlike Darius, and as commander of the army which subdued the Brygian Thracians,

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<sup>1</sup> "For you well know that of all places we are the most dependent on foreign supplies of corn. Now the corn which is imported from Pontus equals, or rather exceeds in quantity, all that comes to us from other markets." Demosthenes against Leptines. The translation is taken from the *Museum Criticum*.—"Some ships, carrying corn from the Euxine for Ægina and Peloponnesus, were stopped by the Persian officers in the Hellespont. Xerxes directed that they should be suffered to proceed on their voyage: 'For,' said he, 'we are going to the same country, and the corn may be useful to us.'" Mitford from Herodotus, lib. vii. c. 147.

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and as brother-in-law to the monarch who subdued Egypt, Mardonius must have acquired some little experience before the battle of Marathon; and the loss of that battle, and the defence of Thermopylæ, would have taught the most prejudiced and ignorant Persians the length of the Grecian spears;<sup>1</sup> although Hippias and Demaratus should have forgotten to notice a circumstance on which so much depended. The Persians<sup>2</sup> readily adopted the institutions of other nations; shall we maintain that they were backward in this instance? Can we reasonably doubt that Mardonius, who had now passed ten months in Greece—who had selected his 300,000 men from the armed multitudes of Xerxes—who was well supplied with money—who had 50,000 Greek allies, and who was to retrieve the honor of the Persian arms, was as eager for battle now as he showed himself at Platæa, when he challenged the Lacedæmonians to let the business be decided by an engagement not between the two armies, but between the Lacedæmonians and Persians, and when he at last attacked the Greeks against the advice and without the co-operation of Artabazus? But there is a difference between Mardonius at Platæa and Mardonius at Athens.

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<sup>1</sup> "At dinner," said Madame Geoffrin, "one should use long knives and short stories." Had Herodotus given the Persians long spears, his stories would have been shortened.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, lib. i. c. 135.

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LETTERS  
TO  
MR. ARCHDEACON TRAVIS,  
IN ANSWER TO HIS  
DEFENCE  
OF THE  
THREE HEAVENLY WITNESSES,  
I JOHN v. 7.  
BY R. PORSON.  
LONDON:—1790.

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LETTER XI.

Of the later Latin writers that are quoted in favor of the verse.

Sir,

Augustine and Jerome you have thought fit to number in your own party. "Thus like an experienced officer, by a false muster-roll of authorities, you gain the pay and credit of forces you cannot produce."<sup>1</sup> Let us therefore examine your claim to these testimonies. Augustine says of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, "They are one," "These three are one," which words, according to you, bespeak their derivation from this verse too clearly to require any comment. They would have been too clear to require any, if you had first quoted the passage from his treatise against Maximin, where he explains the spirit, the water, and the blood, into an allegory signifying the three persons of the Trinity. "If we examine," says he, "how this passage ought to be interpreted, it will not be absurd to expound it of the Trinity, of which it may be truly said, "There are three that bear witness," and, "the three are one." If you had first produced this sentence, the reader would have seen, that when Augustine elsewhere says of the Trinity, "These three are one," even allowing that the phrase is borrowed from scripture, it is only his own exposition of the eighth verse. Could Augustine, writing on the Trinity, and quoting the very next verse to the seventh, be ignorant of it, if it were then commonly known, or refrain from using it in some part or other of his treatise? You will not object that Augustine might think the word *unum* signified unity of consent, not of

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<sup>1</sup> Middleton, Farther Remarks on Bentley, vol. iii. p. 456.

essence, 1. because you affirm that he has twice quoted the seventh verse to prove the unity of essence, and, 2. because, to defend his own absurd hypothesis, that ~~anum~~ *anum* is always meant of essence, he explains away the eighth verse into an allegory.

But in truth, Sir, this way of quoting Augustine is a mockery of reason. We ask for a passage, where Augustine has formally appealed to scripture for the three heavenly witnesses. You produce a sentence, in which Augustine says of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, "these three are one," in his own words, without any reference to scripture, or mark of a quotation. In the mean time you cautiously keep back the argument from Augustine's allegory, and bring scraps of quotations that can only amuse the most ignorant readers. Bengelius is much more consistent. He thinks, that the verse was withdrawn from the public copies by the *Disciplina Arcani*. Allow him his premises, and his conclusions will easily follow: 1. that no argument can be drawn from the silence of the ancient writers; and, 2. that in these short sentences they might covertly allude to the disputed text. I shall only observe, that if we suppose the first Christians to have treated the scriptures in this manner, we at once destroy the certainty and authority of our present canon. But whoever supposes, as I think every defender of the text ought to suppose, that it was extant and publicly known from the beginning, cannot, with the smallest appearance of reason, pretend that it ought not to be formally and directly cited in almost every treatise on the Trinity.

Indeed the argument from Augustine's allegory is so plain and strong, that Beza fairly says, "*Non legit Augustinus:*" Bengelius avoids it by the *Disciplina Arcani*; and Martin himself sinks under the weight of the objection, and only not yields the point in his dissertation. In his *Examen* he makes a faint defence; but when Emlyn replied, he quitted the untenable post. And it is self-evident, that no man who had before him a clear passage for the doctrine of the Trinity, a passage where the three persons are distinctly named, would quote the adjacent sentence, and explain it mystically of the same doctrine, unless he were determined to turn the scripture into needless tautology, and weaken the force of his own reasoning.

But "in Jerome's testament this verse is read without any doubt of its authenticity." Without any doubt of its authenticity! You inform us elsewhere, that all the present Latin Mss. are copies of Jerome's version. But many of the oldest of these Mss. totally omit the heavenly witnesses, and many retain them in a suspicious manner. I have said enough on this subject in my sixth letter, and shall not repeat it here. The question is; which of these copies preserves the genuine reading; and therefore, when you say, that the verse is read in Jerome's testament, you assume the very thing which you ought to prove. But

to help out this lame argument you produce two quotations. The first is, "In essence therefore they are one." "*Itaque substantia unum sunt.*" You translate it, *these* [three] *are one*. Why add, *these* without warrant from your original? Or why add *three*, though, I own, you distinguish it from the words of your author? Is it necessary to the sense? Or must the words *unum sunt*, whenever and wherever they are applied to the Trinity, be always meant for a direct quotation of 1 John v. 7? You are then blamably negligent in not increasing your orthodox witnesses with Marius Victorinus, whom you might have found quoted by Bengelius in the same paragraph with Marcus Celedensis. The second testimony of Jerome you produce from his explanation of faith to Cyrillus: "To us there is one Father, one Son—and one Holy Ghost—and these three are one." But after reading a page, we find, that the quotation of which you here make a present to Jerome, belongs to Marcus Celedensis. Whether it belongs to him, I know not. It is only a conjecture of the learned from an epistle of Jerome's to Marcus Celedensis, in which he uses these words: "*De fide, quam dignatus es scribere sancto Cyrillo, dedi conscriptam fidem.*" Hence you argue, p. 168, that Jerome approved of Marcus's creed, and wrote another of his own. Let it be supposed, to save trouble, that Marcus is the real author of this creed, and that Jerome intends the same. How could Jerome suspect, that these words were meant for a quotation of scripture, without his friend's dropping the least hint of it? Marcus Celedensis only explains his own doctrine; which he does not profess to do in the words of scripture. Besides, your argument takes for granted that Jerome examined all the quotations with scrupulous minuteness; a task to which, I believe, very few friends or readers submit. But when Jerome came to this passage, which bears no mark of a quotation, he must have been the prince of conjurers to have divined his correspondent's intention. In short; Sir, the creed addressed to Damasus is universally acknowledged not to be Jerome's; and if it were his, our verse is not quoted in it. The creed ascribed to Marcus Celedensis does not refer to the verse, and, if it did, would signify nothing in the dispute about Jerome. However, you are perfectly consistent in defending a spurious reading by spurious authorities.

But the weightiest evidence remains, the Prologue to the Canonical Epistles. At the request or command of Pope Damasus, Jerome revised the Latin translation, and corrected it on the faith of the Greek Mss. Did he therefore replace the three heavenly witnesses at this revision, or not? If he did, why did he not then write his preface to inform the world of his recovered reading? But after Damasus was dead, Eustochium, it seems, a young lady, at once devout, handsome, and learned, requests him once more to revise the Catholic epistles and correct them from the

Greek. Jerome undertakes the task, and having completed it, advertises her in this prologue, that other inaccurate translators had omitted the testimony of the three heavenly witnesses, the strongest proof of the Catholic faith. Such a story as this carries its own condemnation on its forehead. It has therefore been given up by most of the defenders of the verse; by Mill, by Abbé Roger, by Maffei, Vallarsius, Vitali, Twells, Bengelius. But you tell us, with that extent of information for which your work is notorious, that "the most disturbed imagination did not harbor any such chimeras (as that the prologue was not genuine) till the times of Martianay and Simon." You are mistaken, Sir. Sandius<sup>1</sup> had already declared the prologue to be spurious in the year 1670. We are left also to imagine from the manner in which you couple Martianay and Simon, that they were both stanch opposers of the verse. Whereas Martianay is a stanch defender of it and a furious antagonist of Simon. He endeavors to disable some of Simon's arguments against this very prologue, accuses him almost of forgery in quoting a Ms. and of heresy for attacking the genuineness of 1 John v. 7. Nothing, therefore, but the force of truth could make such a critic agree with his adversary in his main proposition. I must add that Kettner, who in his *Dissertation*<sup>2</sup> on 1 John v. 7. and his *New Vindication*<sup>3</sup> had contended that the prologue was Jerome's, in a third book called the *History of the text in John*,<sup>4</sup> candidly acknowledges it to be spurious.

That this judgment is as true as it was impartial, will appear from many considerations. First a great majority of Mss. omits Jerome's name. You answer, that other prefaces, confessedly Jerome's, want his name in Mss. I desire you to point out a preface to any book of the Old Testament, where half as many Mss. omit Jerome's name. Thirty-four of the Mss. that I collated prefix no name; six omitted the prologue; one had lost the leaf; of two I have made no memorandum; in short I have only set down eight which at once retained the prologue and attributed it to Jerome. But Jerome was so popular, every thing that bore his name was so eagerly sought, and so frequently transcribed, that if this prologue had been generally known or thought to be his, the correctors at least would more generally have restored his name, and would constantly have secured the insertion of the prologue in their books. But by being often absent, and often anonymous, it betrays marks of a late birth and dishonorable extraction. It is the hard fate of celebrated authors to have a quantity of trash fathered on them, sometimes by design, and sometimes by mistake. Nobody has been more freely treated in

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<sup>1</sup> Append. Interpretat. Paradox. p. 383.

<sup>2</sup> I. Lips. 1696. p. 57—63. II. Delitii 1702. p. 33—37. III. Francf. et Lips. 1713. p. 134—136. 145. 172.



this way than Jerome. And if this has so often happened to authors since the invention of printing, how often must it have happened before that era?

In some Mss. the preface is added; yet the heavenly witnesses omitted. But this you and Martin easily solve by laying the blame on the negligence of transcribers. No, Sir, it was not the negligence of the transcribers, but the negligence or forgetfulness of the collators, that was the cause of this disagreement. The prologue was transcribed from a younger Ms. the text of the epistles from an older; written either before the prologue was composed, or at least before it forced itself into general notice.

Some of the Mss. call the epistles Canonical in the title, and all in the prologue, whereas Jerome would have called them *Catholic*. Here you tell us that Jerome has called them *Canonical* in other parts of his works, and send us for satisfaction to his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers. You ought to be told, Sir, that when correct editions are published on the faith of Mss. no critic is allowed to argue from the old and corrupt readings. The editions published by Martianay at Paris, and Vallarsius at Verona, both read *Catholicæ* in the three places of the catalogue, and produce no various reading from their Mss. I have collated ten Mss. one in the Bodleian and nine in the Museum. Two of the thirteenth and one of the fifteenth century have *canonica* without variation; a fourth of the fifteenth century has *canonica* once in the text, but *catholica* for a various reading between the lines from the same hand, and *catholica* in the text twice without any suspicion. The remaining six Mss. two of which are very ancient, (one at least a thousand years old, Ms. Cotton. Calig. A. 15.) constantly read *catholica*, which I shall therefore conclude to be the true reading. Augustine, you add, calls the epistles canonical. His partiality to the Latin usage touches not Jerome, who prided himself too much on his Greek to suffer such an innovation. Augustine quotes "the apostle Jude in his canonical epistle." How would you have exulted, if you had known that Jerome himself in his commentary on Isaiah lxxv. t. iii. p. 484. calls the second epistle of Peter *canonical*! And to crown the whole, all the Mss. as Martianay testifies, and two in the Bodleian, as I testify, concur in this reading. Martianay is afraid that this uniform consent of the Mss. somewhat weakens the foregoing argument. But he might have been of good cheer; for there is no resemblance between the two cases. The name *canonical* applied to seven epistles, four of which were less generally received for canonical than most of St. Paul's, is the perfection of absurdity. But it is applied with propriety to a single epistle of the seven, whether doubted or undoubted. For instance, Jerome quoting the second epistle of Peter, which many churches rejected, by this epithet fixes on it the seal of his own opinion and authority. For the

same reason Augustine calls the epistle of Jude *canonical*; as if he had said; I know that this epistle is rejected by some, but in my opinion it is the genuine composition of the apostle. If on the other hand a writer rejecting the second epistle of Peter, the second and third of John, &c. had occasion to quote any of the other three, he might justly say, "St. Peter writes in his canonical epistle," thus distinguishing the true from the counterfeit money. This, if I mistake not, was the true reason why the Catholic epistles by degrees gained the title of *canonical*. For when the later writers saw their predecessors separately call the epistles *canonical*, they with great judgment gave them the same epithet in the lump. Our argument, Sir, is, not that Jerome never calls a single epistle *canonical*, for that he might have done by any of St. Paul's, if it had pleased him, but that he calls the whole seven *Catholic* in his genuine works, while the prologue calls them *canonical*.

The fame of Jerome was so far extended, and his authority so great, that if a prologue of his composition, containing such important information, had been constantly known and read from the beginning of the fifth century, it must have been quoted by some of the intermediate writers between the fifth and the ninth, a space of time in which Jerome's version triumphed over all preceding translations. If this prologue had been universally acknowledged for Jerome's, how could Bede overlook it? Bede's silence both with respect to the disputed verse and the prologue is a complete proof that he knew nothing of the prologue, and a probable argument that it was not even extant in his life. The only appeals to it are made by Walafrid Strabus in the ninth, and the Sorbonne Correctorium in the tenth, century. This last author seems to have been overburdened with judgment, for he says, "Here some of the Greek Mss. are corrupted, as St. Jérôme observes." We may therefore suppose, that the prologue was written in some part of the time between Bede's death and the ninth century.

But if there were no other objection to this prologue, the style alone would determine it not to be Jerome's. Whatever be his subject, his language is always spirited and perspicuous; while the prologue is written in a barbarous and uncouth jargon. To make it the more barbarous, you have followed those editions (Append. p. 6. 13.) which read, *quod sunt for ut sint, and translatoribus ponentes*. But I shall pass by these expressions, though; if they were genuine, they would clear Jerome from all suspicion.

Next, let us consider the reasoning and connexion. "As we formerly corrected the Evangelists to the line of truth, so we have by God's assistance restored these [epistles] to their proper order." The real Jerome could never have indulged himself in so silly a parallel, when he might have said, and ought to have said, "itaethas,

*Deo juvante, Græcæ fidei reddidimus.*" This would have been a proper subject for his joy and piety, instead of childishly commending himself for such a trifle as restoring the order of the epistles. It is also observable, that though the main drift of the author was to give currency to his favorite verse of the three heavenly witnesses, he is afraid to affirm directly that it was in the Greek Mss. and only insinuates that falsehood in cautious and perplexed language: "Which epistles, if they were faithfully so turned into Latin, as they are arranged by them," (the Apostles, I suppose) "neither would create doubt in the readers, nor would the varieties of readings impugn one another; especially in that place of John where we read of the unity of the Trinity; in which we find the unfaithful translators to have erred much from the true faith; putting only three names,—and, omitting the witness of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, by which the catholic faith is chiefly strengthened, and the one deity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost proved." First, here is another ridiculous opposition of *so* and *as*. "If the translators had been *as* diligent in translating the epistles *as* the apostles (or the Greeks, for *ab* *its* may be referred to them) have been in arranging the same epistles." Nor do I believe that Jerome would have used such language as this, "*Neque sermonum sese varietates impugnant.*" Besides, the author does not positively affirm that he has restored the verse on the authority of Greek Mss. but in order to possess the reader with that belief, envelopes his meaning in a cloud of words. This objection will not seem of little weight to those who know that many persons will insinuate a falsehood, which they dare not assert in explicit terms. If Jerome himself had told us such a piece of news as is hinted in the prologue, he would have spoken out and told it plainly, whether it were true or false. If it were true, an affected obscurity would be as needless, as it was contrary to his manner. If it were false, he would have affirmed it no less boldly and called God to witness no less solemnly, than when he attested the miracle of his being whipped by angels for reading profane authors; or when he wrote the lives of Paul<sup>1</sup> and Hilarion, which you have so well defended.

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Travis says that Jerome wrote these lives, "not as positive facts, but to teach some moral or spiritual duty, and to inculcate what is useful and good." And he compares them to Pilpay and Æsop's Fables, to Homer's two poems, and to Jotham's parable. I shall therefore give the outlines of Jerome's life of Paul, that the unlearned reader may be better able to calculate the quantity of "good and useful" instruction contained in it.

"Antony thought himself the most perfect monk in the world, till he was told in a vision, that there was one much more perfect than he, and that he must set out on a visit to the prince of anchorites. Antony departed on this errand, and in his journey through the desert saw a

But if Jerome had told us, that his Greek Mss. contained the three heavenly witnesses, he would have told a notorious falsehood. That all the Greeks before his time and all for many ages after it, should know nothing of this text, or entirely neglect it; that all the visible Greek Mss. which have survived to the present day, should omit it; and yet that Jerome found a cluster of Greek Mss. all of which retained it, this, according to the common course of things, is incredible and impossible. What a strange revolution, as Erasmus justly observes, that in Jerome's time the Latin copies should be defective and the Greek perfect, when at present the Latin have repaired their loss, and the Greek are become defective!

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centaur. Jerome modestly doubts whether it was the natural produce of the soil, fruitful in monsters, or whether the devil assumed this shape to fright the holy man. Some time after he saw a Satyr, with a horned forehead and goat's feet, who presented him with some dates as hostages of peace, and confessed that he was one of the false deities, whom the deluded Gentiles worshipped. At last Antony, quite weary and exhausted, found Paul, and, while they were discoursing together, who should appear on a sudden, but a raven with a loaf, which he laid down in their sight. Every day, said Paul to Antony, I receive half a loaf, but on your arrival Christ has given his soldiers double provision. He also told Antony, that he himself should shortly die; he therefore desired to be buried in the same cloak that Antony received from Athanasius. Antony set out full speed to fetch the cloak, but Paul was dead before his return. Here was a fresh distress; Antony could find no spade or pickaxe to dig a grave. But while he was in this perplexity, two lions approached with so piteous a roaring, that he perceived they were lamenting the deceased after their unpolished fashion. They then began to scratch the earth with their feet, till they had hollowed a place big enough to contain a single body. After Antony had buried his friend's carcase in this hole, the two lions came to him, and by their signs and fawning asked his blessing, which he kindly gave them, and they departed in very good humor."

Something of the same nature happened to St. Daphni, as we learn from those ecclesiastical historians who "inculcate what is useful and good." Theocritus, i. 71. Τῶντο χὼς ἡ δρόμοιο λίαν ἔλαυσεν θανάτῳ—and Virgil, v. 27.

Daphni, tuum Pœnos etiam ingemuisse leones

In montesque feros\* silvasque loquuntur.

All the inference that I wish to draw from this long note is, that Mr. Travis has not read Jerome's lives of the saints which he has so manfully defended.

\* I follow Markland's emendation, which Mr. Heyne has misrepresented. He imputes to Markland an absurd reading, *montesque feros, silvasque*, and condemns the emendation for its awkward arrangement of the mourners, in putting the wild beasts between the mountains and woods. I mention this oversight, merely to strengthen an opinion, which I have long entertained, and shall always resolutely defend, That all men are liable to error.

You object, that the expression "*infideles translatōres*" does not mean the generality of translators. When an expression of this kind is used without limitation, an author who wishes to be understood, as the real Jerome would wish, must be understood to mean it generally. If only a few translators were guilty, why does he not restrain his meaning by such words, as *paucis*, *quibusdam*, &c.? I agree with you, that "*infideles*" signifies no more than "*inaccurate*." But if Jerome had attributed such an omission to the interpreters, he would not have dismissed them with so gentle a reprimand. The softest names that he could find for them, would then be, mid-day devils, mad-dogs, blasphemous heretics, two-footed asses, &c. If he thought it merely an error, I have so good an opinion of his critical abilities, as to believe that he would have accused the unskilful scribes, and not the unfaithful translators. And if only a few of the Latin copies were faulty, it was idle to single out this place as a specimen of the superior correctness of his own edition. In fact it is apparent that, whenever this prologue was written, most of the Latin copies wanted 1 John v. 7. and that it was written for the express purpose of providing a remedy for this defect. I shall here take notice of a circumstance which I forgot to mention in its place. The Greek-English editor of the N. T. in 1729 appealed to an ancient *Correctorium*, which asserts, that this verse was wanting in the old Latin Mss. On which Twells says, "We call on him to show where," &c. intimating that the editor was a liar. However, it happens that such a *Correctorium* did exist, and was collated by Lucas Brugensis. He calls its author Epanorthotes, and highly extols his diligence and fidelity. And his note on 1 John v. 7. is no bad example of those qualities: "*Epanorthotes deesse hæc eadem Græcis libris et antiquis Latinis notat.*" Who can deny that by the indefinite phrase "*Græcis libris*," must be meant "all the Greek Mss.?" Since therefore in the time of Epanorthotes, all the Greek and the older Latin Mss. omitted the three heavenly witnesses; since by consequence his Mss. exactly agreed with those which have been afterwards collated by different editors, at different times and places, this coincidence not only proves his good faith and accuracy, but the superior excellence of his Latin Mss. You tell us, and with great truth, I believe, that all Jerome's Mss. are lost. But how happens it, that they differed so widely from all others? Jerome's good fortune in getting a band of these Mss. into his possession, is exactly parallel with Stephens's in finding a large number of the same sort. What pity that all the orthodox Mss. after being once collated, should immediately withdraw themselves, and neither listen to the invitation of their friends nor the challenge of their enemies!

Again, if Jerome had written this prologue, the chief aim of which is to bring into common use this strongest proof of the

Trinity, would he never have thought of introducing it in his other works? He is very proud, in one of his epistles, of having restored "serving the Lord," Rom. xii. 11. instead of "serving the time." What a trifling occasion to praise himself was this compared to the other! Would he not have been in haste to tell Augustine of this grand discovery? Augustine, who looked with an evil eye on Jerome's new edition, could not fail of being fully reconciled to it, when he had learned what an accession of strength it brought to the catholic faith. Augustine and Jerome corresponded on biblical subjects infinitely less important. You are not insensible of the force of this argument, as appears from the miserable shifts to which you are reduced in attempting to elude it. First "he has inserted the heavenly witnesses in his version," the very point in debate. Secondly, "he has quoted them in two creeds," neither of which is written by Jerome, neither of which can be proved to quote the heavenly witnesses. But to let you into a secret, none of the prologues to the separate parts of the N. T. are Jerome's. They are all rhapsodies without method or meaning: without Jerome's learning, style, or spirit; written long after his time, sometimes adorned with extracts from his catalogue or epistles. Bengelius quotes a prologue to the Acts, which is manifestly spurious, and seems, as he observes, to be the handiwork of the same author, who favored us with the prologue to the Catholic Epistles. He has inscribed it to two other friends of Jerome, to Domnion and Rogatianus. For all these reasons, I agree with Bengelius that this prologue is a forgery, but I cannot think with him that the author of it was acquainted with Greek MSS. Indeed he seems to distrust his own opinion, for he adds, at the end of the paragraph, "Qui firmos testes ex Græca antiq̃uitate producet, gratiam ab ecclesia inibit."

The good Eucherius is your next witness, in whose *Formulæ Spiritualis Intelligentiæ* Martin (Dissert. p. 78.) found the disputed verse and brought it forward with great parade. However, as we ought to restore every man his own, it is necessary to observe that Mill had already produced the passage, Proleg. 938. You too, Sir, in imitation of Martin, are here extremely alert. You say that Emlyn ingenuously confesses his embarrassment. Whether you have acted ingenuously let the public judge. Could a reader, who reads your quotation from Emlyn, guess that he spends two pages to show that the passage is interpolated? It would truly have been, as you call it p. 40, 81. "a poor refuge to affect a doubt," without giving any reasons. Emlyn's reasons are, 1. That Eucherius in his *Questiones V. et N. T.* explains the water, the blood, and the spirit, of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. That in his *Formulæ* therefore he seems only to have quoted the eighth verse, because it is not likely that Eucherius or any body else, seeing the doctrine of the Trinity clearly revealed in the

seventh verse, should extract it from the eighth by an unnatural interpretation. 2. That transcribers and editors often correct the citations of their authors to the current reading of their own time; particularly that the editor of Eucherius, J. Brasicaeus confesses that he took great pains in correcting the faults, and that "he added what was wanting." It is therefore probable that this passage is one of those additions, which, 3. is the more probable, because the design of Eucherius, as the very title of his work imports, was to give hidden and mystical senses of Scripture. The eighth verse was sufficient for this purpose; the seventh would have been superfluous.

Eucherius in his Questions, after saying that in 1 John v. 8. there seems to be a reference to the Gospel xix. 30. thus proceeds: "Some therefore think that by the water is meant baptism; by the blood, martyrdom; by the spirit, the person himself who passes through martyrdom to the Lord. Yet the majority here understands the Trinity itself by a mystical interpretation, because it bears witness to Christ; by the water indicating the Father, for he says of himself, Jer. ii. 13. 'They have left me the fountain of living water;' by the blood demonstrating Christ, and referring to his passion; by the spirit manifesting the Holy Ghost. Now these three thus bear witness of Christ. He himself says in the Gospel, viii. 18. 'I bear witness of myself, and the Father who sent me bears witness of me.' And again, xv. 26. 'When the Comforter is come—he shall bear witness of me.' The Father therefore bears witness when he says, Matth. xvii. 5. 'This is my beloved Son.' The Son, when he says, John x. 30. 'I and my Father are one.' The Holy Spirit; when it is said of him, Matth. iii. 16. 'And he saw the Holy Spirit descending,' &c."

1. From this labored illustration, and the pains taken to fortify it, Eucherius plainly shows, that he himself is one of the many (*plures*) who embraced the mystical interpretation. Martin (who does not easily miss any error that lies in his way) insists that *plures* means no more than *some* or *several* (*plusieurs*.) I wonder not that Emlyn was sick of disputing with so wretched a sophist. If *plures* might elsewhere admit of either sense, here it can only mean a *majority*, because it is opposed to *quidam*, and *tamen* added.

2. Lardner<sup>1</sup> rightly infers, that the author who wrote this passage, could not know any thing of the heavenly witnesses. He therefore corrects the text of Eucherius in this manner: "I. His numerus ad unitatem deitatis refertur, &c. II. ad duo testamenta divinæ legis referuntur, &c. III. ad Trinitatem in Joannis epistola, *Tres sunt qui testimonium dant, aqua, sanguis, et spiritus.*" "No. 1 is referred to the unity of God, No. 2 to the two testaments,

<sup>1</sup> Credibility, Part II. ch. 137. vol. xi. p. 170—174. or vol. v. p. 226—229.

No. 3 to the Trinity, in the epistle of John, *There are three that bear record, the water, the blood, and the spirit*. I shall observe, by the way, that Martin took the sentence out of its connexion, discarded the numeral, supplied *legimus* instead of *referuntur*, and so translated (in which you have followed him) "As to the Trinity, we read," &c. When Emlyn objected, that Eucherius might only quote the eighth verse as referring to the Trinity, Martin had the assurance (Exam. c. 8.) to maintain that the word *Trinitas* does not here signify the Trinity in a theological sense, but simply *the number three*. So that, according to him, the passage furnishes this rare sense, "*As to the number three*, we read in St. John's epistle, *There are three*, &c.!" But he would have asserted any thing, rather than relinquish an argument or authority that he once had espoused.

3. Whoever compares the Formulæ with the Questions, will find that Lardner's emendation or something like it, must be the true reading. And I do reassert, that no writer in his perfect mind could possibly adopt this allegorical exposition of the eighth verse, if the seventh were extant in his copy. Even a madman would have method in his madness. "For sense to extasy was ne'er so thrall'd, But it reserv'd some quantity of choice, To serve in such a difference." I appeal to any orthodox reader, whether he would force an indirect confession of his favorite doctrine, from one text by torture, when he might have a clear, full, and voluntary evidence from its next neighbor. The supposition is still more ridiculous that Eucherius should make this quotation for no possible use.

Bengelius, though he had endeavored to work himself up to a belief (in which however he soon falters) that Augustine's exposition of the eighth verse was consistent with his knowledge of the seventh, Bengelius, I say, clearly saw, that if Eucherius wrote the allegory in the Questions, he could not possibly have the heavenly witnesses in his copy. He therefore devised an ingenious expedient to avoid the attacks of the enemy. He supposed that the author of the Formulæ is a different person from the author of the Questions. But this expedient Lardner and Mr. Griesbach spoil by telling us from Gennadius, that Eucherius dedicated his Questions and some of his other works to his two sons. And to heighten the distress of the scene, these Questions and Formulæ are in fact respectively dedicated to these two sons, Salonius and Veranius.

Mr. Griesbach adds, that Eucherius's first question is, "From what texts the Trinity is proved?" He answers, "From the beginning of Genesis, 'Let us make man,' &c. from Psalm xxxvi. 2. 'By the word of the Lord,' &c. from Matth. xxviii. 19. (the form of baptism); and from Rom. xi. 36. 'From him and by him,'" &c. But not a word of the disputed verse, which would have



been an excellent corollary, and would have presented us (as Kettner finely expresses it) with "St. John's divinity in a nutshell." Surely if Eucherius knew of this verse, and yet with such fair, such provoking opportunities to quote it, was still obstinately silent, he could not be a sincere Trinitarian, but either betrayed the sacred deposit which the church had entrusted in his hands, or instead of being properly and rationally orthodox, he only blundered round about orthodoxy.

Mr. Griesbach also observes, that Flacius has only inserted the earthly witnesses in his edition of the Formulæ. You mention this objection, p. 299. but prudently avoid answering it. So considerable an omission could neither be overlooked by Flacius nor his printers. He either published his edition from a Ms. or another edition. Here then is reading against reading, which shall we prefer? By all the rules of criticism, the reading which makes an author consistent with himself. If we follow Flacius, we agree with Eucherius's quotation of Scripture in another place unsuspected of corruption or interpolation. But if we follow Brassicanus, we make Eucherius quote a text for which he had no occasion; a text which he has not quoted where it was necessary, or at least where it would have been signally useful; a text, which, if Eucherius could be supposed to know of it, would determine him to be the dullest of mortals, and passionately fond of nonsense and tautology.

Let us however review the words of Eucherius: *Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in cælo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus, et tres qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis.* How it strengthens the authority of our present vulgate that this quotation differs not from it in the smallest tittle! In the Questions there are some odd various readings. The eighth verse, as there quoted, differs from the Formulæ four times. 1. In turning the masculines into neuters. 2. In substituting *perhibent* for *dant*. 3. In omitting *in terra*. 4. In altering the order of the witnesses. But what is more extraordinary is, that Flacius's edition of the Formulæ reads as all the editions of the Questions read, and contains neither less nor more than these words: *Tria sunt quæ testimonium perhibent, aqua, sanguis, et spiritus.* That this reading is genuine, is plain on inspection, because, 1. It is the shorter. 2. It is the less orthodox.<sup>1</sup> 3. It differs greatly from the common editions of the Latin version. 4. It exactly agrees with Eucherius's citation of the same verse in another part of his works. 5. It transposes the witnesses so, that in the allegorical interpretation they may severally correspond with the persons of the Trinity which they typify.

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<sup>1</sup> By the orthodox I mean that opinion which, whether true or false, prevails in the time and country of the transcribers or editors.

If any pains-taking critic wades through these letters, as I shall be always ready to testify my admiration of his patience, so I think he cannot refuse to pay me the same compliment, when he sees me thus laboriously answering objections, which (as you falsely say of Mr. Griesbach's p. 300.) "are brought forward without even the decency of an attempt to support them." But to close the account of Eucherius. The true reading, which Lardner almost found out by conjecture, is that which I have quoted from Flacius. If it will not satisfy you, it will at least satisfy every body else, to know that there are two early editions of Eucherius, one printed at Basil, 1530, the other at Paris without any date of the year. These editions so often differ in their readings, that they were certainly derived from separate Mss. But though they vary so much in other places, they here lovingly concur in the shorter reading above mentioned. So far therefore (to use Mr. Griesbach's words) was Eucherius from quoting 1 John v. 7. that it is on the contrary most clear and evident that this verse never was in his copy.

We have now run over all the Latins down to the middle of the fifth century, without finding any express quotation of this unfortunate verse, or even any appearance of it, except in Cyprian. But before we come to the end of the same century, such a proof is produced, as must for ever strike the heretics mute. For the four hundred Catholic bishops that Hunneric summoned to Carthage, to hear what they had to say in defence of the homoïusian doctrine, quote the three heavenly witnesses, as a proof of the Trinity "clearer than day," and this without expressing any doubt on their own side, or meeting with any opposition from their adversaries. Martin seems to think that every one of these four hundred bishops had a bible in his pocket; and the useful places doubled down! I would gladly know by what miracle four hundred copies of St. John's epistle unanimously consented in a reading, that a hundred years before, according to the complaint which you suppose Jerome to make, was omitted by the "unfaithful translators?" How Eucherius, as I have just now proved, was ignorant of it fifty years before? How Facundus was equally ignorant of it fifty years after? This verse has been gaining ground in the Latin copies from the sixth century to the eleventh; yet, I dare say, if we should now collect four hundred Latin Mss. at a venture, we should find several of them omitting the heavenly witnesses; perhaps a majority of those that are not later than the tenth century. Or were these holy fathers such acute and inquisitive critics, that they would cite nothing from Scripture which was not in all the Mss.? If any passage that suited their purpose occurred in some particular copies, would they not defend it for genuine, though the weight of external evidence was in the opposite scale? But not to multiply such queries, we

know, if we know any thing, that an implicit faith of this kind has been the occasion of innumerable mistakes. Does not Ambrose defend a reading against the heretics, merely because it is orthodox, for he owns that it is wanting in a vast majority of the copies? In the same manner, if the Catholic bishops found in ever so few of their Mss. a text like 1 John v. 7. "clearer than the day" for their doctrine, they would doubtless presume it to be genuine. It would be in vain to urge them with the great balance of contrary testimonies. "*Nihil est audacius illis Deprensis: iram atque animos a crimine sumunt.*" They would argue, (falsely and absurdly indeed, but still they would argue) "1. That omissions of the verse were neither positive contradictions nor direct impeachments; only food for conjecture, and conjecture has no weight against positive facts p. 346.—2. That the omission might easily happen here, by reason of the similar beginning and ending of the two verses. 3. That the scope and connexion of the apostle's reasoning required this insertion. 4. That the Arians erased it; and that the Arians played such pranks is clear from more than one positive declaration of Ambrose." I allow that all these reasons are false and frivolous; it is enough for me, that they have frequently been employed in defence of this very passage. The unanimous testimony therefore of the four hundred bishops will by no means prove that the verse was then in all the copies, since, if it were in a very few of them, an eager disputant would seize it, and maintain it against all objections, by such arguments as I have stated above. "*Qui amant, ipsi sibi somnia fingunt.*" How many divines at this day quote 1 John v. 7. not only without hinting any scruple of their own, but without deigning to inform their readers that it has been called in question by others! It would be a labor of Hercules to enumerate all the inferior writers who have acted in this manner, and imposed on the simplicity of the unlearned. I shall content myself with referring to a few, and they shall be all bishops. Wake, Exposition of the Catechism, p. 58. Secker, Lecture XIII. Pearson on the Creed, Art. viii. p. 323. Beveridge, Private Thoughts, part i. p. 27. II. p. 40, 47. Huet, Demonstr. Evang. Prop. ix. cap. 25, 82. Gastrell, Christian Institutes, p. 132. Atterbury, vol. i. Sermon. x. p. 266. Here are two archbishops and five bishops, who have all applied the very verse in debate to prove the Trinity, without mentioning any argument against it, or producing any in its behalf. Yet none of them could be ignorant of the fierce disputes to which it had given rise. Some of them (Huet and Pearson) were professed critics, and ought not to have quoted it, without showing their own reasons, or confuting their adversaries. Wake had in his possession five Greek Mss. that omitted the verse. Pearson had defended the vulgar reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16. in the same book, where he has quoted the heavenly witnesses without

any comment. An unlearned reader could not help concluding from this circumstance, that by defending one controverted reading, he thereby declared that none of his other quotations had ever been controverted; according to that logical rule, of which you make so judicious a use p. 302. "Exceptio probat regulam in non exceptis." "But the four hundred bishops dared not to urge in dispute a passage that was extant only in a few copies, when they must be detected and exposed by the Arians." I have partly answered this objection, and I add, that an effectual answer to it may be found in the conduct of the greater part of divines. So many of the defenders of the Trinity have employed this text in controversy, that they appear to have thought it lawful to quote any passage which seemed to them genuine, without paying any attention to the objections of others. Thus Dr. Wallis in his first letter on the Trinity quotes our verse as a clear and decisive argument. It was not till his adversary had disputed its authenticity, that he condescended to give his reasons (such as they are) in its defence. Thus Dr. Wells in his answer to Dr. Clarke adopted the verse without mentioning a syllable of its doubtful character. Dr. Clarke replied that the verse was spurious. Dr. Wells rejoined, that in his judgment Grabe had sufficiently proved it to be genuine in his notes on Bull's Nicene Faith. Very lately, a Mr. Barnard has written some letters to Dr. Priestley, in which he four times quotes this verse, as one of his principal arguments, though he ought to have known that Dr. Priestley had publicly rejected it, long before the publication of Mr. Barnard's answer. A friend of yours, the author of a Vindication of the Doctrines and Liturgy of the Church of England, p. 32, 24. quotes Acts xx. 28. 1 Tim. iii. 16. without hinting that the Mss. vary, or that the common reading has ever been disputed. In the former quotation he prints the words, *his own blood*, in Italics. And if the author of the Hints to the new Association, whom this author confutes, had not expressly singled out 1 John v. 7. and declared it spurious, he would have quoted that too with the same modesty, for it appears among his scriptural proofs of the Pseudo-Athanasian Verity, p. 26. In short, it is idle, fraudulent, contrary to reason and to fact, to argue, that, because a passage is quoted in controversy, it is therefore genuine and extant in all the copies.

If the person deputed by the Catholics to draw up their common confession of faith, had found this passage in a single Ms. or even quoted by any other writer, and on the strength of such authority admitted it into his collection of scriptural proofs, what would have been the event? They would not have staid to form their judgment of the author from his composition, but have adjusted their opinion of the composition to their previous esteem for the author. If, for instance, the venerable Eugenius was the composer, not a bishop present but would have subscribed heart

and hand to any thing that came from his pen. Like the organist of Utrecht,<sup>1</sup> who signed the articles of the Contraremonstrants without reading them, and being pressed to read them at least once, answered, "It is needless. I know well enough that you, gentlemen, would not require me to do an ill thing." I am sure, that if every individual bishop of the four hundred, after a diligent perusal of this confession, could subscribe sincerely to every part of it, that is to say, if he believed all the quotations apt, and all the reasonings just, it would be an imperceptible extension of his faith, to believe one of the quotations genuine, though he had never heard of it before. And if some member of the assembly for a moment had given way to any untoward suspicions, he would quickly repress them with Benedick's argument,<sup>2</sup> "I should think this a gull, but that the white-bearded fellow speaks it; knavery cannot surely hide itself in such reverence."

"In the fourth century the controversies about the Trinity were very warmly debated, and the orthodox hastily caught at every thing that they apprehended favorable to their cause, and oftentimes made use of such texts to prove their doctrine by, as were by no means proper for their purpose. A man must be a great stranger to their writings, who has not observed this. Their zeal for a fundamental doctrine frequently hurried them on so fast, that they did not duly weigh and consider their arguments."

Thus Dr. Bennet.<sup>3</sup> To the same purpose Dr. Horsley.<sup>4</sup> "In popular discourses and in argument (the Fathers) were too apt to sacrifice somewhat of the accuracy of fact to the plausibility of their rhetoric; or, which is much the same thing, they were too ready to adopt any notion, which might serve a present purpose, without nicely examining its solidity or its remote consequences." From this frank confession of two able defenders of orthodoxy, I infer, that the orthodox Christians of the fifth century (for I suppose a hundred years had made no great improvement or alteration) would have seized any argument that might serve their purpose, and that the compiler of their creed would admit any supposed scriptural quotation, without examining the authorities on which it is founded. It is amusing to consider the different consequences of the same action. In defence of orthodoxy it is lawful to set aside the testimony of the fathers. But let any doubts be hinted, in such a case as the present, concerning their good faith or exactness, heretic and infidel are names too soft for the offender.

At vos Trojugenæ vobis ignoscitis, et quæ  
Turpia cerdoni, Volesos Brutumque decebunt.

<sup>1</sup> Jortin's Six Dissertations, ii. p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Much Ado about Nothing.

<sup>3</sup> On the Common Prayer, Appendix, No. iii. p. 288.

<sup>4</sup> Tracts, p. 355.

Were the Arians, on reading this confession of the orthodox, so utterly bereft of all reflection, as to give up their cause in despair? They must have been aware of several of the texts which their adversaries would produce. If this verse was then received for genuine, they would be aware of that too, and provide some answer, sufficient or insufficient. Would they be more distressed with it than with John x. 30. *I and my Father are one*? Some of the modern divines declare that this verse does not relate to the consubstantiality of the persons. You yourself have not dared to affirm that it does. Had then none of the four hundred bishops any objections to the use of such an argument? On the other hand, was there no Arian that so far retained his senses as to combat the Catholic interpretation? The utmost inference that can be drawn from this confession is, that the three heavenly witnesses were in the copies of the authors, or in Eugenius's copy, if he were the author. Nobody denies that they might possibly creep into some copies of that time, particularly in Africa, where Cyprian and Augustine were constantly read. But to suppose that they were in all the copies that all these bishops had seen or possessed, because they are in their confession of faith, is to assume two things equally inconsistent with reason and experience, that the Mss. of the N. T. never varied in that age, and that no disputants of any age quote any passages except such as are extant in all the copies, and acknowledged by all parties.

"But Cyrila and his confederate Arians made no objection to this verse." I cannot find that they made any objection to any other quotation or argument of the Catholics. I desire to know, whether this treatise was so vigorous a defence of orthodoxy, that none of the heretics could say a word in answer to it. If they made any answer, Victor has given us a partial and fraudulent account of the transaction. If they disputed at all, they might then object to the genuineness of the new-quoted verse, as well as to any other part of the confession. If the dispute never took place, the Catholics were in no danger of detection, and might safely quote what they liked for Scripture.

If such a confession had been really presented and read; if Cyrila and his accomplices had proposed their objections in detail; if amongst these objections there had been a particular answer to this capital text, endeavoring to divert its force, and explain it away, but no suggestions tending to undermine its authenticity; if the Catholics had then resumed the dispute, reinforced their arguments with fresh aid, and at last set their own cause in so fair and strong a light, that none but the ignorant or obstinate could withstand its evidence; the catastrophe of the drama would have been natural enough, nor would it surprise us to find that Cyrila attempted to convert by force those whom he could not subdue by argument. But Victor's narration, which leaves us to suppose

that nothing at all was said by the heretics, carries in itself the plainest marks of fiction.

"When the day appointed for disputation came, the Catholics chose ten of their number to answer for all. Cyrila was seated on a superb throne. To this elevation the Catholics objected, and asked, Who should be the umpire and examiner? The king's notary answered, the Patriarch Cyrila. Let us know, said they, by what authority Cyrila takes that name. Whereupon the adversaries, raising a tumult, began to calumniate. And because the orthodox desired that, if an examination was not allowed, the prudent multitude at least might wait, all the sons of the Catholic church who were present are ordered to be beaten with a hundred cudgels. Eugenius exclaims against this treatment, and appeals to heaven. Then the orthodox turned to Cyrila, and said, Propose your sentiments. Cyrila said, I know no Latin. The Catholic bishops answered, We know that you have always spoken Latin; you ought not to refuse now; especially as you have kindled this flame. But he seeing that they were better prepared for the conflict, declined an audience with various pretences; which they foreseeing, had written a decent and sufficient confession of their faith." [Here follows the confession.] "When this our book was read, they could not bear the light of truth with their blind eyes, taking it very ill that we called ourselves Catholics. And immediately they told lies to the king, that we had raised a tumult and avoided the conference." Then follows an edict of Hunneric against the Homoüsians, which charges them with endeavoring to delay the conference, to excite the people to sedition, and to disturb every thing with their clamors, that the dispute might not take place.

I appeal to the reader, whether this story be not improbable in all its circumstances. First, when the Catholics find fault with Cyrila for exalting himself to a kind of throne, he orders them to be beaten with a hundred cudgels. But on Eugenius's uttering a short ejaculation, we hear no more of the cudgelling, and the dispute is resumed. They desire Cyrila to begin. He excuses himself, by pleading ignorance of Latin. They give him the lie, and tell him they can prove that he has always spoken Latin. This might seem a sufficient provocation to Cyrila's fiery temper to repeat his orders about the cudgelling. But he only seeks for cavils and pretences to decline the conflict. How he must have stared, when they pulled out a confession of faith, which, with proper management, would last a modern divine three Sundays! For I presume he would have taken some measures to hinder it from being read, if he had not been stupified by astonishment. The Catholics read their confession audibly and distinctly; when it is finished, the heretics have not one word to say for themselves, good or bad; they therefore dissolve the assembly, and by telling lies to the king persuade him to persecute the orthodox.

As far as I can judge by comparing Victor's narrative with Hunneric's edict, the account given in the edict is partly true. The Catholics were willing to put off the conference and prolong their stay, in order to make converts from the Arian doctrine. This Hunneric considered as a violation of the terms on which he had granted them a safe conduct. In consequence of this charge, the Catholics were imprisoned, banished, doomed to hard labor, tortured, and executed. I make no objection to these wholesome severities on the score of cruelty. For if heretics had been thus served, and Hunneric's faith were pure, the regimen would have been exceedingly mild and proper. But being a heretic himself, I cannot help thinking that he carried matters a little too far. However, it appears, from Victor's own story, from the accusations of delay and tumult which each party brought against the other, that they never came to a formal conference, and that such a confession was neither read nor presented.

Again, if the confession had been presented to Cyrila, and attentively read by him, are you sure that it then contained this quotation? Does an author, when he republishes a work, never "Blot out, correct, insert, refine, Enlarge, diminish, interline?" Are the speeches published for the genuine speeches of our senators never increased or embellished in passing through the press? Did Cicero give every oration of his to the public exactly as he delivered it at the bar or in the senate? When I can bring myself to believe that Thucydides and Livy copied the exact words of their heroes, then will I believe that Victor has given the precise confession of faith that put Cyrila and his impious crew into such confusion. But you say, p. 53, 113. that "Victor's narrative must be circumspcct and accurate, because it was written in the face of exasperated enemies, while Arianism sat triumphant on the throne." Victor's history was not written till three years after the persecution. Hunneric was long since dead. His successor was not so violent a persecutor; and, if he was, Victor was now at Constantinople, where he wrote, free from all fears of being either contradicted or persecuted. If no Arian answer to Victor's narrative appeared, which it is impossible to tell, we must consider that in all probability his history was long in travelling to the Arian dioceses. It was written at a great distance from the scene of action, for the edification of the faithful, not for the confutation of heretics. In those days books were less easily procured, and less generally read, than in our time. They were separately transcribed, and diffused with infinite slowness in comparison of the present rapid and extensive circulation.

If I were disposed to make a romance, in imitation of Victor, I should say, that when the Arians came to this text of the three heavenly witnesses quoted in the confession, they demanded in what part of St. John's works they were extant, and, on detecting



the fraud, broke off the conference. That this sacrilege of the Catholics was mentioned as a reason for increasing the severity of their punishment. But you may ask me why I call Victor's history a romance. It deserves that title for the miracles which he has stuffed into it, of which I shall give an abridgment. "The Arians tormented some Catholics who nevertheless were always recovered by the next day, and no traces of their wounds left. A virgin was fastened to a pile of wood, but on a sudden the wood rotted and fell to pieces. (So the keeper told Victor, and confirmed it with an oath.) Bishop Faustus likewise told Victor that he had seen a blind woman recover her sight. When Arbogastes's forehead was bound with cords, he broke them like cobwebs by looking up to heaven. They then brought stronger, which he burst only by invoking the name of Christ. And though he hung on one foot, with his head downwards, he seemed to sleep on the softest bed. When his friend Felix buried him in a lonely place, according to his request, on digging up the earth, he found a sarcophagus of the finest marble, 'such as perhaps no king ever had.' Hunneric sent some of the confessors to reap in the hot weather, at Utica. One of them excused himself, because he had a withered hand; but when he came to the place, behold a miracle! his hand was restored to its strength, and did him yeoman's service. They who were banished into deserts full of scorpions and venomous animals, which formerly destroyed every passenger, all escaped alive and unurt. Eugenius restored a blind man to sight. A matron rightly called Victoria, after her shoulders were dislocated, and she was thought dead by the tormentors, was suddenly healed by a virgin, who stood by her and touched her limbs. Antony finding Eugenius in a palsy, forced the sharpest vinegar down his mouth, which increased his disease, but Christ restored him to health." Mr. Gibbon has related the miracle of the confessors who spoke after their tongues were cut out, "*sermones politos sine ulla offensione locuti.*" He is so copious in his relation, and so anxious in amassing authorities for it, that it seems almost to persuade him to be an Homöusian. I cannot think this such a stupendous miracle as some would represent it. Did not St. Romanus, after his tongue was cut out,<sup>1</sup> make an elegant oration? A case in point. Besides, this miracle is lame and imperfect; for since their right hands also were cut off, to make the wonder complete, they ought to have used their maimed arm as dextrously as if a hand and fingers still belonged to it, "*sermones politos sine ulla offensione scribentes.*" I cannot recollect any defender of 1 John v. 7. except Kettner, who urges this miracle in behalf of the text. Even Martin, who defends most things, is half ashamed of it, and contents him-

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<sup>1</sup> Prudentius, *Peristeph.* x. 928.

self with saying, that Victor's easy belief of miracles is no impeachment of his veracity in quoting scripture. But the two circumstances are here very intimately connected. If Victor could relate an improbable miracle for the good of his cause, he might take a scriptural quotation that favored his own cause, on testimony which he ought to have rejected, and would have rejected on an indifferent subject. This reflection will be strengthened by considering that the ecclesiastical writers servilely copy their predecessors; a practice which was then more excusable from causes already mentioned. But now that the art of printing has multiplied the means of knowledge, and increased the danger of detection, does nothing of this kind happen? A single example will suffice. Feuardent, in a note on Irenæus's silly tale about John and Cerinthus, informs us, that as soon as St. John had left the bath, it fell in and crushed Cerinthus to death. For this circumstance he quotes Jerome against the Luciferians. Not a word to this purpose in Jerome. Yet six authors, quoted by Bayle,<sup>1</sup> assert the same story, and that with as confident an air, as if they had good authority for the assertion. Though a common book was quoted, a book written in a language familiar to every pretender to learning, none even of those who adopted the story from Feuardent thought it worth while to verify his quotation. But, in truth, it is much easier and pleasanter to go on believing every thing that we hear or read, than to undergo the labor of inquiry or the pain of suspense.

Our next question is, Who was the author of this confession? From Victor's account we might guess it to be the joint manufacture of the four bishops who are said to have presented it. Gennadius gives Eugenius the whole honor of the composition. Some (moderns, I believe) call Victor himself the author. Bengelius ascribes it to Vigilius Tapsensis (i. e. the author of the books *De Trinitate*). My own opinion is, that it was written by that author (whoever he be), and published under the name of Eugenius. This solution comprehends both Gennadius's assertion and Bengelius's conjecture. Victor finding a book on the subject ready to his hand, with the name of a venerable confessor prefixed, would take it for genuine without farther inquiry, and esteem it the principal ornament of his history. But if any person thinks it more probable that Victor himself wrote the creed, to show that he was no less able a divine than historian, I shall not dispute about so small a matter.

The books *contra Varimadum* and *De Trinitate* have been commonly attributed to Vigilius Tapsensis since Chifflet's edition. But Vigilius, in his disputation against Arius, never refers to the latter. And though he produces a long quotation from his own book against Varimadus, not a syllable of it can now be found in the

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<sup>1</sup> Dictionnaire, au mot Cerinthus.

treatise that bears the false title of Idacius Clarus. Nor is there any appearance that this treatise is mutilated. In short, Vigilius's claims to either of these publications are only supported by some weak and gratuitous conjectures of Chifflet.<sup>1</sup> This was what I meant, when I gave you leave to make two distinct authorities of these two treatises. But though this gracious permission of mine seems at first sight to turn against me, I had, I own, a malicious intention of employing it to my own advantage. Jerome, say the heretics, would have quoted 1 John v. 7. in some of his genuine works, if the prologue were his. No, answers Martin; for Vigilius, who so often uses this verse in his books *De Trinitate* and *contra Varimadum*, never mentions it in the conference of Athanasius and Arius, nor in his treatise against Eutyches, "in which it was scarce to be conceived he could possibly have omitted it." (*Examen*. ch. 4.) But this objection falls, if we reply that the authors of the *Altercatio*, the treatises *De Trinitate* and *contra Varimadum*, have nothing in common, but the assumption of a false title. I will allow, if you insist on it, that the disputed verse had by this time crept into a few copies. Now, as the copies which contain more text, and are more orthodox, generally are preferred to the rest, it was natural that their readings should be taken for genuine, and produced against the heretics. Some of the ancient Greek writers, in explaining the doxology, tack a new clause to it: *For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost*. This is the reading too of an excellent Ms. in the Vatican, Urb. 2. and another at Vienna, Koll. 9. And I hope, at the next revision of our translation, this verse will be corrected "*secundum orthodoxam fidem*." For omissions are no argument against positive testimony; and here we have the positive testimony of twice as many Greek Mss. as retain our reading of 1 John iii. 16. Let us proceed to the author *De Trinitate*. He five times quotes the verse, if we may trust some of the editions. I say, if we may trust the editions; because the quotation at the end of the first book, and another in the fifth, are neither in the old Paris nor Cologne editions. And whoever will carefully peruse the context, will perceive, that in both places the sense is much better connected, if we adopt the shorter reading, and the parts that were before separated close without leaving a scar. The same hand without doubt interpolated both the passages, as appears from the phrase with which he introduces them. "*I. Jam audisti superius Evangelistam Joannem in epistola sua tam absolute testantem. V. Sicut Joannes Evangelista in epistola sua tam absolute testatur.*" In the tenth book too I am almost afraid that some malicious hand has been tampering; for the words of the first book are

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<sup>1</sup> Vigili Tapsensis Vindiciæ, p. 64—68.

exactly repeated, "In Christo Jesu unum sunt, non tamen unus est, quia non est eorum una persona." However, I shall not insist on this point, but allow both to be genuine, if you desire it. I shall only object, that the author has been inaccurate (to use no harsher word), and by substituting in *Christo Jesu unum sunt* for *tres unum sunt*, has given reasonable cause for suspicion. Perhaps, Sir, you may ask, why I think the passages above-mentioned spurious. First, for the reason already given, that in such passages additions are much more frequent than omissions; secondly, because the following subscription is added at the end of the eighth book in two Mss. one of which I have seen. "I have transcribed these eight books, which contain many things added and altered." I should think it an affront to my reader's understanding to say another word on the subject.

I did expect that Martin would have applied another quotation from Vigilius to his argument. "*Qui faciendum decernunt (hominem) tres sunt, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus; sed hi tres unus est.*" (Martin translates, *these three are one*, Exam. c. 4.) I think this would make as good a figure as many of your witnesses. I only mention it to show how easily men writing on the Trinity may drop expressions, which a warm imagination might easily mistake for a reference to the verse of St. John.

I have already, Letter VI. p. 74. quoted 1 John v. 8, 7. as they are read in the treatise against Varimadus, i. 5. If a citation so manifestly fraudulent can be of any service, you are heartily welcome to it. For my own part, I think it argument enough against a suspected text, that they who make most use of it cannot agree in the reading. However, being willing to vindicate this author, I must declare, that I believe this quotation not to have come from his hand. First, I observe that the whole chapter consists of quotations to prove the unity of the Son with the Father. This is the only quotation that he brings from the epistle, though he brings eight from the gospel. And since the objection, which he professes to answer, was taken from the gospel, he seems to have made a point of conscience not to depart from the gospel in his answer. If it be objected, that he might quote this passage as an argument *a fortiori*, I answer, that he would then probably have used such a preface as he uses in his second chapter, entitled, *De Unitate Patris et Filii*. Quoting Eph. iv. 3. he thus introduces it: "*Et unitatem Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti demonstrans.*"

Secondly, the first chapter of the first book contains the positive proofs of the Trinity in Unity. These proofs are twenty-two in number, among which are Matt. xxviii. 19. Rom. xi. 35. 2 Cor. xiii. 13. But of the three heavenly witnesses a deep silence. Surely, if he had forgotten them when he wrote his first chapter, and afterwards recollected them in the fifth, he would not have

grudged turning back a few pages to insert them in a more proper place.

Thirdly, his last book is a collection of passages from scripture, where the same things are predicated of all the persons of the Trinity. The sixty-fifth chapter is entitled, *De communi Testificatione*, which he proves from Psalm xviii. 8. 1 Tim. vi. 13. Rom. viii. 16. Compare also the nineteenth chapter of the first book. But how much more pat would this verse have been, if he had known of it! If such a verse existed, he must have known of it, for in this very book he quotes the sixth, the tenth, the twelfth, and twentieth verses of the same fifth chapter.<sup>1</sup>

I therefore make no doubt but that the heavenly and earthly witnesses were inserted in this treatise by that religious soul who forged the decretal epistle of Hyginus.<sup>2</sup> This forger has taken all the quotations preceding 1 John v. 8, 7. (except one) from our author, preserving the same order. But in return for the loan of so many quotations, he paid him with this text, which shows his scrupulous honesty. The same quotations may also be found in the decretal epistle of Pope John.<sup>3</sup> But in Pope John the present reading of the eighth and seventh verses is restored. As I shall be glad to make some amends to my author for having robbed him of so much text, and as nothing is so pleasant to a critic as correcting a classic, I shall add, that instead of "*Qui me vidit, vidit et Patrem*," ought to be read, on the authority of Hyginus, "*Qui me vidit, vidit et Patrem; et iterum, Qui me odit, odit et Patrem*." The omission was caused by the similar terminations. I suppose I need make no apologies to Pseudo-Hyginus. Whoever would forge a whole treatise, would hardly stick at the addition of a single sentence. Martin, in the simplicity of his heart, quotes Hyginus and John for good authorities. I know, says he, that their epistles are spurious, but they prove what was the reading of their times. I know too that the authority of forgers can never support a doubtful reading, unless it be their interest rather to reject than adopt it. However, I allow that they prove such a reading to have existed in their times, that is, in the eighth century. Nor am I quite sure that the author of Pope John's epistle did not compose the prologue attributed to Jerome. I perceive that you, Sir, have not appealed to these illustrious witnesses, Hyginus and John. If this was the effect of design, I commend your prudence.

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<sup>1</sup> In Sirmond's Works, vol. i. p. 377—400. is an anonymous treatise, entitled, *Breviarium Fidei adversus Arianos*; the author of which borrows the substance of great part of the third book, with additions, transpositions, and alterations; but he too is silent on the text of the three heavenly witnesses.

<sup>2</sup> Harduin. Concil. tom. i. p. 94. This Hyginus seems to have given Mr. Capel Lofft (*Animadv. on Dr. Knowles*) much trouble.

<sup>3</sup> Harduin. Concil. tom. ii. p. 1154.

Of Fulgentius I have already spoken in part. If you object, that though he refers to Cyprian in one place, which may seem to hint that the state of Mss. made such a reference necessary, in another passage he quotes 1 John v. 7. without suspicion, I answer, that this will not prove that Fulgentius had better authority in one instance than in the other. I remember that Mr. Jones, in his Full Answer to an Essay on Spirit, Pref. p. xix. quotes 1 John v. 7. without suspicion, and from that and John x. 30. charges the author whom he is answering with blasphemy. Should we not think that for such a purpose none but certain and acknowledged texts would be quoted? Yet the same gentleman, in his Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity, ch. iii. § 10. confesses that there has been much dispute concerning this text, and adds his own reasons for believing it genuine. The same answer will serve for the other quotations, if they belong to Fulgentius; if not, the anonymous author would borrow them from Fulgentius, the reigning polemic of the day.

Cassiodorus in the sixth century wrote his *Complexiones*, a sort of abridgment of the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. These *Complexiones* were found by Maffei in the library of Verona, and by him published at Florence in 1721, and by Chandler at London in 1722. Chandler, Pref. p. ix. after observing that the contested verse was in some Latin copies at least of the sixth century, in the next page grows diffident, and says, that it is uncertain whether Cassiodorus has given us the very words of the apostle, or only his own interpretation. This scepticism provoked the gentle Maffei to treat Chandler very roughly in his *Istoria Diplomatica* and his *Opuscoli Ecclesiastici*. Let us therefore examine the words of Cassiodorus in a literal translation: "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God, &c. He who believes Jesus to be God, is born of God the Father; he without doubt is faithful, and he who loves the Father, loves also the Christ who is born of him. Now we so love him, when we keep his commandments, which to just minds are not heavy; but they rather overcome the world, when they believe in him who created the world. To which thing witness on earth three mysteries, the water, the blood, and the spirit, which were fulfilled, we read, in the passion of the Lord; but in heaven the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and these three is one God."

It is incumbent on them who are positive that Cassiodorus had the heavenly witnesses in his copy, to tell us under what form they appeared. This verse has the misfortune to be always changing shapes. But it is all one to the defenders. So it be in the text, they care not. I would gladly learn, however, whether Cassiodorus found the eighth verse before the seventh; whether he found the earthly witnesses in the same order that he has followed; whether his copy had *Filius* instead of *Verbum*; whether *tres*

*sunt in celo* instead of *tres sunt qui testimonium dant i. c.*; whether it omitted the final clause of the eighth verse; and, lastly, whether its reading was, *hi tres unum sunt*, or *hi tres unus est Deus*. Be assured, Sir, that these questions must receive a satisfactory answer, before Cassiodorus's testimony will avail you. Where some of the ancient Mss. totally omit a passage, the change of its situation, and the variety of its readings, in others, always render it suspicious, and often demonstrate it to be spurious. Martin himself was aware of this; for in his *Vérité*, p. 62. having occasion to mention the author against Varimadus, he quotes the eighth verse no farther than to the words *in terra*, and smothers the rest with an *etcætera*.

*Omnis qui credit quoniam Jesus est Christus*, &c. says St. John. *Qui Deum Jesum credit*, says Cassiodorus. If from this interpretation *Deus* had crept into the Latin copies, with what pious wrath and obstinacy would it have been defended! We should be told of Cassiodorus's diligent study of the scriptures; his taste and nicety in choosing the best readings; his painful collation of Greek Mss. and I know not what. Soon after, Cassiodorus adds, "*quando in illum credunt, qui condidit mundum.*" Where are the last words? Not in our present copies, but in that accurate collator's Greek Mss. Let us then read in our present first verse, "*Whosoever believeth that Jesus is God,*" and in the fifth, "*Who conquereth the world, but he who believeth in him who created the world?*" A choice voucher for a doubtful text! What you say of Greek Mss. amounts to nothing. Cassiodorus does not play the critic in his *Complexiones*, and consequently there was no need of his Greek learning. Or suppose that he sometimes followed the Greek, if one clear proof can be produced, that ever he followed the Latin in opposition to the Greek, this plea is of no weight. (See 1 Pet. iii. 22.)

On a diligent examination of the *Complexiones*, I am persuaded that Cassiodorus found no more than these words in his copy, *Tres sunt qui testificantur, aqua, et sanguis, et spiritus, et hi tres unum sunt*. That he gave his own, or rather Eucherius's interpretation of these words, and applied them to the Trinity. Why else should he use the emphatic word *mysteria*, unless he intended to make some mystical application? Since he interprets *spiritus* of the human breath, what mystery, what hidden sense, do these three words contain of themselves? But let us suppose that he understood the passage in this manner: "*Which is witnessed by three things on earth, the water, blood, and spirit. These were visibly fulfilled in the passion of our Lord, but they are mysteries which spiritually represent the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in heaven, of whom it may be truly said, these three are one, that is, one God.*" This reason will account for his keeping back the clause, *hi tres unum sunt*, and confining it to its nobler sense.

This will also account for his arranging the witnesses in the same order with Eucherius, so that the water may answer to the Father, the blood to the Son, and the Spirit remain in statu quo. Nor is it strange that Eucherius's works, and consequently this interpretation, should visit Ravenna in the intermediate hundred and forty years that passed between the publication of the *Quæstiones* and *Complexiones*. But perhaps you will like Cassiodorus's own positive testimony better than my presumption. Well, Sir, I will please you if I can. In the tenth chapter of his *Divinæ Lectiones*, the title of which is *De Modis Intelligentiæ*, he expressly says that he has collected Eucherius's works. And since he collected them for the sake of their explanations of scripture, he would probably adopt this allegory among other profitable remarks.

Cassiodorus thus explains 1 John ii. 13, 14. "I write to you, because ye have overcome the devil, and have known God the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost." Can we suppose that Cassiodorus would thus interpret the single word *God*? No, he found it in his Latin Mss. and not only in his Latin, but his Greek; and his Greek cannot be supposed later than the apostolic age. Let us therefore restore, on the uncorrupt faith of Cassiodorus and his Greek Mss., the true reading; *Γράφω ὑμῖν, παῖδια, ὅτι ἐγνώκατε Θεὸν τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα*. There are several other places in the N. T. where the true reading has been hitherto shamefully neglected.

Matth. vi. 13. has been already mentioned.

John xviii. 32. two Mss. in Wetstein's list have preserved the true reading, *That the word of God might be fulfilled, which he spake, signifying by what death he should die*.

John xix. 40. the Alexandrian Ms. reads, *the body of God*, which is no less true and certain than *the blood of God*, Acts xx. 28.

Acts xiii. 41. a Ms. of New College, Oxford, rightly adds, *that God is crucified, and dies*.

1 Cor. v. 7. *Christ God our passover was sacrificed for us*. So it ought to be read from Hippolytus, a Ms. collated by Mr. Matthæi, and a Ms. of Chrysostome, and the Lateran Council, as I learn from Wetstein, on Acts xx. 28.

2 Thess. ii. 16. a Ms. collated by Zacagni preserves the true reading; *Now our Lord and God Jesus Christ himself, &c.* From these examples, I hope, it will appear, how falsely that infamous villain Erasmus asserted that Christ is seldom called God in the N. T.

But we need go no farther than our own fifth chapter of St. John to show how the text has been mutilated. The genuine reading of the twentieth verse is this: *And we know that the Son of God is come [and was incarnate for our sake, and suffered, and rose from the dead, and took us up], and hath given us an understanding, &c.* The words between brackets (or something like them)



are quoted by Hilary, by Faustinus, and the author against Vari-  
madus. They are also in the Toledo Ms. collated by Blanchini,  
and in three others that I myself have seen. Another shameful  
mutilation of this chapter will occur presently.

From Cassiodorus we jump two centuries to come to your next  
author, Ambrose Autpert, or Ansbert, or Autpert, (as I find him  
called in a Ms.) who, in his Commentary on the Apocalypse,  
twice quotes the heavenly witnesses. Nobody denies that some  
Latin copies had this verse in the eighth century. It is then that  
we suppose it to have crawled into notice on the strength of  
Pseudo-Jerome's recommendation. Autpert also quotes the tenth  
verse with a considerable various reading; "And this is the wit-  
ness of God that he hath testified of his Son [whom he hath sent  
a saviour on earth]."<sup>1</sup> This addition I should not hesitate to re-  
store to the text, unless those illustrious defenders of the faith,  
Etherius and Beatus, supplied me with something better. For  
thus they quote a part of 1 John v. *Quia tres sunt qui testimonium  
dant in terris, aqua, sanguis, et caro, et tria hæc unum sunt; et  
tres sunt qui testimonium dant in cælo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiri-  
tus, et hæc tria unum sunt in Christo Jesu. Si testimonium ho-  
minum accipimus, testimonium Dei majus est; et hoc est testimo-  
nium Dei, quod testificatus est de Filio suo, [quem misit salvatorem  
super terram, et Filius testimonium perhibuit inter scripturas  
proficiens, et nos testimonium perhibemus, quoniam videmus eum  
et annunciamus vobis, ut credatis. Et ideo] qui credit, &c.*  
What a dainty morsel of scripture had the heretics cut away,  
because, I suppose, it was meat too strong for their sickly sto-  
machs! Let it be immediately restored to the rank from which it  
has been so long and so unjustly degraded. First, however, let  
us wash off a little dirt which it has contracted during its disgrace,  
that it may be fit to see company. "Inter scripturas proficiens"  
is neither Latin nor sense. To the immortal honor of true criti-  
cism, I retrieved the genuine reading by conjecture, *in terra scrip-  
turas proficiens*, which I afterwards found confirmed by the Toledo  
Ms. of the Vulgate, of which Blanchini has inserted a collation in  
his *Vindiciæ Veteris Vulgatæ*.<sup>2</sup>

"Walafrid Strabo" (rather Strabus), "author of the *Glossa Or-  
dinaria*, comments on this verse." Since we allow this verse to  
have been in some copies of the eighth century, we suppose it to be  
in more of the ninth. Walafrid might therefore comment on it,  
especially as his scruples, if he had any, would be silenced or  
satisfied by the fictitious Prologue. You believe that Walafrid  
consulted Greek Mss., and Greek Mss. too as old as the fifth cen-  
tury, because he says, that wherever the vulgar text of the Old

<sup>1</sup> I am obliged to trust to memory.

<sup>2</sup> See both the quotations in *Wernstein*, tom. ii. p. 725, 726.

Testament was faulty, the Hebrew Mss. ought to be consulted<sup>1</sup> wherever of the New, the Greek. I could prove many of the most illiterate peasants to be proficient in Greek by the same rule, for they would tell you, that where the translation is wrong or obscure, the originals ought to be examined. But if this argument proves Walafrid to have collated Greek Mss. to the N. T. it proves him equally to have collated Hebrew Mss. to the Old. First, therefore, show that Walafrid understood Greek and Hebrew. Next produce a competent number of examples, where Walafrid compares the various readings of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Mss. and sits in judgment on their merits. You say, p. 324. "Walafrid directs his readers, in all cases of difficulty, to resort to the Greek copies, which implies that to be his constant practice." Admirable! Theodore Beza wishes that editors would publish all the various readings of their Mss.<sup>1</sup> which implies that he has suppressed none of his own. Mr. Travis is very bitter against sophistry, unfair quotation, fraud, and forgery, which implies that he himself is perfectly free from all such peccadilloes. Many thousands of divines once a week (or oftener) teach the doctrines of religion and the duties of morality, which implies their steadfast belief of the one, and their constant practice of the other.

Your inference from Walafrid's advice is caught up by your friend above, quoted, p. 322. who says<sup>2</sup> that "Walafrid Strabo professes to have consulted the most ancient Greek Mss." I only mention this to show how readily men will assert the most palpable falsehoods, and how a story gains strength by travelling. Though you allow that both the Syriac and Coptic versions omit the disputed verse, this gentleman asserts that it is wanting in none but the Coptic. Another direct falsehood; which either proves that he has lost all sense of shame, or that he has not read your book with moderate attention.

The rabble of witnesses that you bring after the tenth century deserves no attention. If you could make them ten times as many, their joint authority would be a "broken reed, on which if a man lean, it shall go into his hand, and pierce it." I freely, therefore, give you Rodolph, Rupert, Bernard, Victorinus, Lombard, Aquinas, Scotus, Lyranus, and as many more as you can muster.

From Durandus you infer that the three heavenly witnesses were in the *Ordo Romanus*. This *Ordo* was composed about the year 730. Allowing therefore that it contained this verse, it would prove little. But Durandus, by quoting the verse from the *Ordo Romanus* of his time, will not prove that it was extant there from the first compilation. None of the adversaries deny (so far as I know) that it had been in quiet possession of almost all the Mss.

<sup>1</sup> Wetstein, Proleg. p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> Vindication of the Liturgy, &c. p. 48.

from the year 1000. The alterations of the liturgy would keep pace with the improvements made in the other copies, and sometimes outrun them. Or, if they did not, the heads of the church would perhaps have sent an order to this effect:<sup>1</sup> "Scribatur in textu Joannis Epistolæ ubi deest, *Tres sunt qui testimonium*," &c.

"The deference," say you, "yielded to the known learning and integrity of the Lateran council, caused its decrees, in matters even of a secular nature, to be received as law, not only in England," &c. Though this proves nothing in favor of the verse, it proves two other points. That the clergy then exercised dominion over the rights of mankind, and that able tithe-lawyers often make sorry critics. Which I desire some certain gentlemen of my acquaintance to lay up in their hearts as a very seasonable inuendo.

To your list of Latin witnesses you ought to have added three more, which Maffei found in the library of Verona. The first is a dialogue, not much differing from that which is published in Athanasius's works; the second, Athanasius's commentary on the creed; the third, a book *De Divinis Officiis*, which couples Matt. xxviii. 19. 1 John v. 7. In the commentary on the creed, which Blanchini<sup>2</sup> published, or in Blanchini's notes, that passage, I doubt not, occurred, which Wetstein has quoted, and Mr. Griesbach professes himself unable to find. That author thus quotes Matt. xxviii. 19. "Ite, baptizate gentes, ungentes eos," &c. Here we have a scriptural precept for the use of the chrism in baptism, which has now been for ages neglected, to the utter perdition of many souls. But of all writers that have quoted the verse in question, the writer of the *Sermones Dormi Secure* (V. near the end, de conceptione Mariæ) makes the most curious application of it. "Unde bene dicitur illud j. Jo. v. *Tres sunt qui testimonium dant*, scilicet Virgini Mariæ, quod sit sine originali. Et Daniel iij. *Hii tres quasi ex uno ore laudabant Deum*; scilicet quod matrem suam præservavit ab originali." I hope you will enrich your next edition with these fresh testimonies, which will make your work complete and consistent.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

I know that the right of Walafrid Strabus to the Preface and the *Glossa Ordinaria* is exceedingly questionable; but I have allowed it, that the dispute might be cut somewhat shorter.

<sup>1</sup> See Letter IX. p. 205. of Class. Journ.

<sup>2</sup> Ut ostendi in Enarratione Pseudo-Athanasiana in Symbolum, quam Veronæ edidi. Evangelicar. Quadrupl. Part i. p. 90.

## LETTER XII.

Of the Greek and Latin writers, who, though they had sufficient occasion, have not quoted the verse. Recapitulation and conclusion.

Sir,

THE Greek and Latin authors that cannot be persuaded to quote the three heavenly witnesses are so fairly enumerated by Mill, Emlyn, Wetstein, Newton, and others, that I shall do little more than repeat their list, and add such remarks as may seem most necessary.

## GREEK AUTHORS.

|                                      |                                   |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Irenæus.                             | Cyril of Alexandria.              |
| Clemens Alexandrinus.                | The Exposition of Faith in Justin |
| Dionysius Alexandrinus (or the       | Martyr's works.                   |
| writer against Paul of Samosata      | Cæsarius.                         |
| under his name).                     | Proclus.                          |
| Athanasius.                          | The Council of Nice, as it is re- |
| The Synopsis of Scripture.           | presented by Gelasius Cyzicenus.  |
| The Synod of Sardica.                | Hippolytus.                       |
| Epiphanius.                          | Andreas.                          |
| Basil.                               | Six catenæ quoted by Simon.       |
| Alexander of Alexandria.             | The marginal scholia of three     |
| Gregory Nyssen.                      | Mss.                              |
| Gregory Nazianzen, with his          | Hesychius.                        |
| two commentators, Elias Cretensis    | John Damascenus.                  |
| and Nicetas.                         | Germanus of Constantinople.       |
| Didymus de Spiritu sancto.           | Ecumenius.                        |
| Chrysostome.                         | Euthymius Zigabenus.              |
| An author under his name De          |                                   |
| sancta et consubstantiali Trinitate. |                                   |

## LATIN AUTHORS.

|                                                           |                  |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| The author de Baptismo Hæreticorum among Cyprian's works. | Eucherius.       |
| Novatian.                                                 | Facundus.        |
| Hilary.                                                   | Junilius.        |
| Lucifer Calaritanus.                                      | Cerealis.        |
| Jerome.                                                   | Rusticus.        |
| Augustine.                                                | Bede.            |
| Ambrose.                                                  | Gregory.         |
| Faustinus.                                                | Philastrius.     |
| Leo Magnus.                                               | Paschasius.      |
| The author de Promissis.                                  | Arnobius junior. |
|                                                           | Pope Eusebius.   |

This evidence, which might seem to a common understanding to form a strong negative, you waggishly call a "region of night and nothing," and to guide us through this region with safety and dispatch you lay down two rules; 1. that some of these writers might have quoted the verse in other works of theirs now lost; 2. that when any of them neglect another passage confessedly genuine and equally fit for their purpose, their omission of this

verse does not prove it to be spurious or unknown to them. But this accumulation of possibilities is useless and sophistical. It is indeed possible that a writer may forget or neglect to urge one of his best arguments; but that so many authors, with such repeated opportunities, should all agree in shutting their eyes against the light of this marvellous passage, is improbable, incredible, impossible.

Let any unprejudiced man conceive this verse to be generally read and admitted for genuine, and then let him conceive, if he can, that all the defenders of the Trinity could preserve an obstinate silence, and never appeal to it. But how will he bring himself to conceive such an absurdity, if he has been at all conversant with modern divinity? No text has been so often quoted, since its establishment in our printed editions; none so readily applied to the Trinity, of which it is almost always declared to be a complete and formal proof. It is, in short, the very soul of modern controversy, "*tota in toto et tota in qualibet parte.*"

But you see clearly enough the insufficiency of these two reasons, and therefore call to your aid a third, that "some of the Fathers" (who have not quoted the verse), "perhaps all of them, conceived the words of this verse to indicate a unity of consent only, and not a unity of nature." To make this more likely, you jocularly quote Calvin and Beza, who explain in this manner the clause *unum sunt*. Dr. Horsley indeed says (Tracts, p. 845.) that many of the orthodox (to whom he adds himself) are of the same opinion. As far as I can judge, these milder and pretended orthodox are so few, that if the more zealous Christians were divided into companies of ten, and every one of their lukewarm brethren waited on a company, "many decads would go without a cupbearer." I shall produce a few of these testimonies, as they lie before me. Martin earnestly insists, in the beginning of his *Verité*, on the great importance of this passage, and calls it "the strongest weapon that we can employ against the Arians." "Were there," says Atterbury, "no other text for the proof of the doctrine of the holy Trinity—but that only—where St. John speaks of the three witnesses in heaven, it would be sufficient to make that doctrine an evident part of scripture; though in all the other passages usually produced for it, it should be allowed to be expressed obscurely." Allen, Sermon i. p. 22. says, with infinite candor, "Very probably (the Arians) forged other Mss. and in them wilfully omitted this verse of St. John, that so they might in some measure at least invalidate and weaken the authority of a text, which was directly opposite to their false doctrines; and which it was utterly impossible to evade the force of by any artificial and unnatural constructions." Snape, Sermon viii. p. 50: "That he is one and the same God with the Father and the Son, is declared by St. John in express terms; *There are three,*" &c. Felton, Moyer's

Lectures vii. p. 366: "The doctrine cannot be expressed in fewer or clearer words." Beveridge, *Private Thoughts*, ii. p. 40: "And yet that all these three persons were but one God, St. John expressly asserts, saying, &c. which certainly are as plain and perspicuous terms as it is possible to express so great a mystery in." If, therefore, we may judge from the analogy of modern times, the number of those squeamish Fathers, who would scruple to employ this text, would be trifling, compared with the bolder warriors who would draw it as the sharpest arrow from their quiver. But the mild interpretations of Calvin and Beza prove nothing concerning the Fathers. Modern expositors have deserted many passages which the ancients applied to the Trinity. Calvin's example is the less to the purpose, because he has been accused by his brethren of explaining away some of the capital texts. For instance, *I and my Father are one*, he explains of a unity of consent. But what a host of Fathers quote the same verse, without fear or scruple against the heretics, to prove the deity of the Son! Let us suppose that a great number of our Greek Mss. omitted John x. 30. and that some of the most renowned, orthodox, and voluminous Fathers never quoted it, who sees not the obvious and natural conclusion, that the verse was unknown in their age? It would be an absurd fancy to think that they might have quoted this verse in other works; that they might omit it, because they have omitted others; or that perhaps they conceived it not to prove a unity of essence.

Besides, there was another reason for Calvin's and Beza's moderation. They knew the precarious tenure by which this verse held its place, and it would have seemed inconsistent to lay any stress on the orthodox inferences that might be drawn from a suspected testimony. You will forgive me, too, if I hint, that some of those who affect to adopt Calvin's exposition, imitate *Æsop's fox*, and call the grapes sour, because they cannot reach them.

But, Sir, if any of the Fathers thus explained away the consubstantiality of the heavenly witnesses, produce an example or two from their works. Let us have no conjectures. If you can find one ancient author, Greek or Latin, who has thus betrayed the citadel to his enemies, you will not only have a positive argument on your side, but a plausible objection to that ungracious negative. But this, Sir, you cannot perform, I fear. Your Jerome says, that this verse is the "chief strength" of the Catholic faith. Why then does not he inculcate it perpetually, in season and out of season? Authpert twice quotes it, without any particular necessity. Such silence then in the other Fathers is unaccountable. If they had really thought that the clause *tres unum sunt* meant only unity of consent, still the passage must have claimed their attention, because it is one of the few where the three divine persons are connumerated distinctly and in order.

The greater part of mankind quotes scripture more by sound than sense. They take every detached sentence for a distinct assertion or apophthegm, and apply it according to its apparent meaning, after they have forcibly torn it from its context. Though a temperate critic might, from a diligent examination of the Apostle's argument, be induced to doubt whether the one essence of the Trinity was here intended, how few of such critics were in the primitive church, and how few are in our own! The bulk at least would lay violent hands on the verse, and cry it up for a decisive testimony. You say, that "through the vast series of one thousand four hundred years, not a single author, whether Patripassian, Cerinthian, Ebionite, Arian, Macedonian, or Sabellian, &c. has ever taxed the various quotations of this verse with interpolation or forgery." You have read, I presume, a competent number of the works of these heretics. You have read some which were written expressly in answer to those treatises that employ the three heavenly witnesses. If you have, Sir, be so good as to inform us where they may be found. Surely, Sir, you did not believe that this argument was of any weight, even while you wrote it down. I know only of one heretic, Abbot Joachim, who has quoted the verse; and he lived when by the unanimous confession of all parties it had been long read in the Latin version. Your reasoning, therefore, amounts to this: Either the heretics published answers to the orthodox writers who quote 1 John v. 7: or they did not. If they published no answers, they certainly made no objection to the authenticity of that verse. If they published any answers, those answers are now lost; and still, as far as we know, no objection has been made to the verse. What an excellent judge Mr. Travis is of a negative argument!

You perceive, however, at last, that the negative argument is of some weight, and therefore you suppose that the verse was partially lost in some part of the interval between the years 101 and 384. You had better correct a little, and suppose that it was entirely omitted in St. John's autograph. This will solve all difficulties much better, take my word for it. I always thought that when a great number of Mss. of an ancient author omit any passage, on which the intermediate writers, who on other occasions freely quote that author's works, are quite silent; though the passage be very fit for their subject; though they quote other passages much less apposite; though they quote so near it that they could not help seeing it, if it were extant; though sometimes they quote the words that precede, and the words that follow; even though they extract from the next words with great labor and difficulty the very sense which this passage would furnish at a much easier and cheaper rate; I always thought that, in such a case, the plain reason of these omissions of the Fathers was a total absence of the passage from their copies, and a total ignorance of its existence.

But, according to you, omissions are no proof against a verse, where there is positive proof for it. I ask, then, how much positive proof is necessary? Is any text genuine that may be found in the Latin version, or in a few Greek Mss. provided no actual charge of forgery be brought against it? If this be your opinion (as it seems to be), you need not be afraid of being confuted, for nobody will dispute with you. If our Greek Mss. unanimously retained this verse, while the Fathers were silent on it, this dissent might leave us in an unpleasant state of doubt and suspense. But when the Fathers and Greek Mss. so exactly agree in rejecting a text, to adopt any other reason than the obvious fact, the spuriousness of the passage, is to set aside all evidence, for the sole end of maintaining this judicious paradox, that the worse Latin copies have preserved the genuine reading.

You make exceptions to some of the particular Fathers who have not quoted this verse. You say, that neither Alexander of Alexandria, nor Eusebius in his tract against the Sabellians, nor Gregory Nazianzen in his treatise on the Divinity of Christ, nor Epiphanius against Noetus, cites Matt. xxviii. 19. But Alexander quotes John x. 30. to which 1 John v. 7. would have been an admirable parallel. If by Eusebius's tract against the Sabellians you mean the three books *De Ecclesiastica Theologia*, there is an express quotation of it in one, and a plain reference to it in another of those books. If Gregory Nazianzen does not quote the form of baptism in the oration that you have named, he quotes it as a strong proof of the Trinity in his forty-ninth oration, where he also quotes John x. 30. Now, since 1 John v. 7. unites in itself the merits of both those passages, it is strange that Gregory should never think of quoting it, he who had in his thirty-sixth oration mentioned the other three witnesses, *the spirit, the water, and the blood*. If Epiphanius does not quote Matth. xxviii. 19. against Noetus, how often does he quote it elsewhere! You add, that the Synopsis may with great probability be ascribed to Athanasius, and that it plainly refers to the verse in question. I answer, 1. that the Synopsis is certainly spurious; and, 2. that it contains not the slightest vestige of the verse, but expressly quotes ii. 23. to show the unity of the Father with the Son. This I have proved at large, Letter IX. p. 197, 198. And now let any man consider with himself, whether Athanasius, who frequently and repeatedly cites Matth. xxviii. 19. John x. 30. and even the twentieth verse of our fifth chapter, could be so blind or negligent as to pass over such an important text. This verse would have been very commodious to prove the deity of the Son, the deity of the Holy Ghost, or the joint deity of the three persons. But neither Athanasius, nor Didymus, nor the two Gregories, nor Basil, nor Cyril, though they have all largely written on these subjects, have paid any regard to the celestial testimony. The second person of the Trinity is here more



clearly called the Logos, than even in the beginning of the Gospel. How has it happened that no ancient writer whatever quotes the verse for this title, though they make several fantastical applications of texts that are nothing to the purpose? You will hardly, Sir, I guess, prefer the other reading, *Filius*, which is in a few Latin and some French Mss. in Wickliffe's translation; in a Ms. of Victor, and in Bernard. For if you allow that *Filius* is the genuine reading, *Verbum* must have been a most impudent forgery, and the credit of the Latin copies will be demolished at a blow. But taking *Verbum* for genuine, I can see only one reason (which I leave Mr. Travis to find out) why this verse is never quoted to show that Christ is called *the Word*.

What a difference in value between the eighth and seventh verses! Yet the eighth is often quoted, the seventh scarcely ever. How wonderful it is that the authors who quote the eighth verse should never turn a little out of their way, allured by the charms of the seventh! We have seen the Armenian council three times quoting the seventh verse, not because the subject which they were treating required it, but merely in compliment to its extraordinary beauty and merit. If any of the authors now extant, who quote the eighth verse, had ever quoted the seventh, in defence of the Trinity, they surely would have repeated it, if it were only for the sake of old acquaintance.

Cyril quoting the sixth, eighth, and ninth verses, argues that, because the Spirit is said to witness, and this witness is called the witness of God, therefore the Spirit is God. But insert the seventh verse, and this argument is spoiled. For the witness of God is sufficiently marked out by the witness of the Father, a heretic would answer, without extending the word God either to the Word or the Spirit.

But the strongest proof that this verse is spurious may be drawn from the Epistle of Leo the Great to Flaviands on the Incarnation. This epistle has been translated into Greek, read in churches, sent round to the councils both in the East and West, defended by several authors in set treatises, and consequently more generally known than most of the writings of the Fathers. In this epistle he quotes part of the fifth chapter, from the fourth to the eighth verse, and omits the three heavenly witnesses. John Moschus informs us, in his *Spiritual Meadow*,<sup>1</sup> that he was told by Abbot Menas, who was told by Abbot Eulogius, who was told by Archdeacon Gregory, that the Roman church had a written tradition, that Pope Leo, when he had finished his letter to Flavianus against Eutyches and Nestorius, laid it on the tomb of the foreman of the apostles, Peter, and besought him to correct it, wherever it was erroneous or imperfect. After he had prayed, fasted, and lain on the ground,

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<sup>1</sup> Cotelier. Eccles. Græc. Monum. tom. ii. p. 416.

a decent time (about forty days; for the apostle was somewhat shy, like Milton's Eve, "Who would be wooed, and not unsought be won"), Peter appeared to him, and said, "I have read and corrected;" on which Leo takes the letter from the tomb, opens it, and finds that the apostle had been as good as his word. On this authentic fact I shall make a few remarks. Peter could not be ignorant of the existence of this verse, if it were genuine. We may reasonably suppose his faculties to be so far improved in heaven, that he remembered all the N. T. Or if by chance he had forgotten this epistle of St. John, or this part of it, the author was at hand to set him right; "for it is impossible to suppose that St. Peter would not in such an undertaking constantly confer with such a neighbor, with such a friend, with such a man, as St. John."<sup>1</sup> He must therefore have foreseen what untoward consequences the heretics would draw, if the seventh verse were omitted in Leo's epistle, and would have certainly replaced it, if it were genuine. But by suffering the omission to pass uncorrected, we may be sure that St. Peter thought the verse spurious, or that it did not then exist. From this conclusion there is no escaping, but by a denial of the fact, and that would be to introduce a universal Pyrrhonism into history.

The only Greek evidence, earlier than the thirteenth century, that even seems to be in your favor, is the dialogue published with Athanasius. That dialogue quotes and applies to the Trinity these words, *And the three are one*. The Greek words literally agree with the reading of the eighth verse in the French king's Ms. No. 60. *Kai oi tpeis ro ev eiav*, And since the marginal note on that clause is in the Ms. *one God, one godhead*, it need not be doubted but that the author of the dialogue meant to give the same interpretation.

You quarrel with us for urging the negative testimony of Bede and Œcumenius, while we reject Victor's for being too late. I will endeavor, Sir, to explain this matter. An important and curious passage of scripture ought to be quoted by a reasonable proportion of the writers of every succeeding age. But if either through fraud or by chance, a spurious sentence is inserted into some copies of scripture, though from the general propensity of transcribers the number of interpolated Mss. may be daily increased, yet several ages must elapse before a general corruption can take place: It has however at last happened, in some places, that the corrupted copies have almost swallowed up the others. In this case, if we can find that such a passage was unknown to an author of the later ages, it is so far from being a prejudice against him, that he lived so late, that he is a stronger testimony against the addition, because he shows that some uncorrupted copies remained, even after the inter-

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Travis uses these words of Crispin and Stephens, p. 58. 123.

polation had been making its way for so many centuries. If, therefore, Bede was ignorant of this verse, since Bede was a good judge of the state of Latin Mss. in his time, it will follow that the Latin copies of the eighth century generally omitted it; which is otherwise probable, because most Latin Mss. of that and the ninth centuries omit it. If Œcumenius and Euthymius Zigabenus knew nothing of the verse, it will follow that the Greek Mss. of the eleventh and twelfth centuries omitted it.

I am willing to suppose that Bede had no Greek Ms. except to the Acts. But if he had a Greek Ms. of the Catholic epistles, which wanted the three heavenly witnesses, he could not tell us of the omission of them, unless he knew of their existence in the Latin. You therefore modestly assume, that since the verse was in Jerome's version, it must have been in Bede's copy. How often shall we be favored with this piece of sophistry? This passage was in Jerome's version; therefore Bede knew of it. I should think, Sir, this argument more agreeable to logic: The copies of Jerome's version vary; some retaining, some omitting the passage; Bede makes no mention of it; therefore Bede used a copy that omitted the passage. Next you tell us, from Martin, that Bede must have known of this text from Cyprian, Fulgentius, and the confession in Victor; all of whom he has quoted. With respect to Cyprian, he might not know to what place of scripture Cyprian referred; or he might think with Facundus that Cyprian interpreted the eighth verse. With respect to Victor and Fulgentius, if he knew nothing of the verse when he read their works, he was not obliged to record for quotations of scripture passages which he did not know to be in scripture. If he thought they were guilty of a pious fraud, was he blamable for not imitating them? This objection supposes that Bede took the trouble to examine critically every text quoted by Fulgentius and Victor. A pleasant task you would impose on the poor man! Why, Sir, when you took on trust, from Martin, your charges against the Syriac and Coptic versions, you are conscious that you did not examine a single reference. And yet I apprehend this was a duty incumbent on you, though Bede was bound by no tie of conscience to hunt after the various quotations produced by his authors.

But if any person will read through Bede's commentary on the fifth chapter, he must see, unless he be wilfully blind, that Bede was totally ignorant of the seventh verse. He is so minute and exact, that he has transcribed the whole text, except two or three words at the end of one verse, and even those he inserts in his commentary. If after all this you insist that he might know of the verse, I can think of no proof that would settle the point, except an actual assurance of Bede's innocence under his own hand. Perhaps Bede ought to have used such language as this: "N.B. I have never heard of an additional set of witnesses, nor ever was

them in any copy." Let it be added, that Bede was zealously orthodox, as appears from his hymn on St. Edeldrida, H. E. iv. 20. "*Alma Deus Trinitas, qui secula cuncta gubernas, Annue jam cœptis, alma Deus Trinitas.*"<sup>1</sup> And on this very chapter he breaks out, "*Pereat de terra memoria eorum, qui eum vel Deum vel hominem esse verum denegant.*"

Newton had suspected that the words *in terra* were not written by Bede, because he so particularly explains the rest of the verse, without taking any notice of them. Erasmus had already observed that a Ms. omitted these words, though a much later hand had added in the margin the three heavenly witnesses. What pity that such a copy did not come into the hands of the first editor, that Bede might have been a voucher for the verse! Emlyn tells us, on hearsay, that the Mss. of Bede omitted *in terra*. Martin answered, that he had seen those words with his own eyes in a Ms. at Utrecht. I fully believe this assertion; for I myself have seen them in a Ms. at Oxford, but very modern, and of little value. All the other ten that I collated omit *in terra*; without any rasure in the text or note in the margin. Several of them boast a decent antiquity, but the oldest<sup>2</sup> carries its own date, A.C. 818. I confess my rudeness to you in closely tracing your steps so often. If in revenge for this rudeness you wish to examine these Mss. and see whether I have not lied for the good of my cause (for you well know, Sir, that no credit is due to polemics), you will find two of the Mss. in our public library, two in Bennet-college library, three in the Museum, and four in the Bodleian.

In Facundus, it is true, the editions six times repeat *in terra*; but these words are so inconsistent with the interpretation which Facundus is laboring to establish, that Bengelius fairly allows them to have been added by transcribers. We ought also to consider that Facundus has been published from a single Ms. The same corruption I suspect to have crept into the treatise *De duplici Martyrio*, and the true reading to be, "*Commemorat et Joannes Evangelista triplex testimonium, spiritus, aquæ, et sanguinis.*" The same author afterwards says, "*Quamquam hi tres unum sunt; unus enim Deus est, qui per spiritum, aquam, et sanguinem, declarat hominum generi virtutem et bonitatem suam.*" How easily might the seventh verse grow out of such observations as these!

I shall now briefly examine the pleas that have been set up in defence of the verse. 1. "The Arians erased it." We might expect some small evidence of this accusation. What cunning fellows those Arians were to erase this testimony, not only from their own books, but from the books and memories of the Catholics! You,

<sup>1</sup> See also his Hymn de Quatuor Temporibus, vol. i. p. 481.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Astle has given a specimen in his *Origin and Progress of Writing*, Pl. xix. Spec. 2. p. 106.

Sir, I perceive, will neither positively condemn nor honorably acquit these heretics. You tell us that Socrates charges them with mutilating this very epistle. Does he expressly charge the Arians? Is his charge general or particular? He complains, that "they who wished to separate the divinity and the humanity of Christ" had erased this sentence, 1 John iv. 3. *Every spirit that divides Jesus, is not from God*; "which," says Socrates, "is in the old Mss." First, I cannot see how this doctrine could give any offence to the Arians. Secondly, if Socrates had accused them, here, his silence on such a piece of fraud as the erasure of the three witnesses, is a strong presumption of their innocence. Thirdly, I should like to have seen a few of these ancient Mss. For at present every Greek Ms. every version, except the Vulgate, most of the Greek Fathers (all, according to Mr. Griesbach), and some though few of the Latins, agree in the common reading. Besides, there is a quaintness, as Bengelius rightly observes, which savors more of an interpolator's genius, than an apostle's simplicity. And a scholium in one of Mr. Matthæi's Mss. very naturally accounts for the corruption. "It is the character (of Antichrist) by false prophets and spirits to divide Jesus, in not confessing that he is come in the flesh." However, if you choose to defend Socrates, you will have the concurrence of that orthodox divine, Mr. Gibbon, vol. iv. p. 540, or viii. 272. For my own part, I think that his decision is very uncritical, and that the reading of the Vulgate in this place has not above twenty times as much authority as 1 John v. 7. But be that as it will, Socrates does not accuse the Arians; nor is his accusation founded, if he did accuse them; nor, if the accusation could be proved, would it help, but rather hurt your argument.

The holy Fathers were very unsuccessful in such accusations. I have already taken notice of Ambrose's charge against the Arians, that they erased *Spiritus est Deus* from John iii. 6. What harm had this sentence done the Arians? It proves, says Ambrose, the Deity of the Spirit. Could not the Arians suggest, with some color of probability, that the true construction was, *God is a Spirit*? Or, if they cut it out here, why did the blockheads leave it in the next chapter? They had however good success, for the sentence was scarcely to be found in any copies of that age, as Ambrose tells us, and, I dare say, with great truth. What dangerous impostors! Dr. Horsley says, that the orthodox would have poorly served their purpose by forging 1 John v. 7. I say, in like manner, that the orthodox would have poorly served their purpose by forging *Spiritus est Deus*, John iii. 6. Yet I think that both places have been corrupted by orthodox copiers. They crept into some Mss. by chance and negligence, but, as soon as they were known, were eagerly quoted and sent on every expedition against the heretics.

Another example of this laudable zeal of the Fathers against heretics may be found in Ambrose. The heretics misapplied the verse Mark xiii. 32. which seems to ascribe ignorance to the Son: Ambrose boldly denies the fact. "First," says he, "the ancient Greek Mss. have not the clause, that *neither the Son knoweth*; but no wonder, if they who have adulterated the holy scriptures, have also falsified this passage." A little after, however, conscious of the weakness of his assertion, he adds, "But grant it written by the Evangelists," and then proceeds to explain. An advocate for Ambrose will in vain suppose that he meant Matt. xxiv. 36. which will only reduce his hero from a falsehood to an equivocation. The heretics would care nothing about Matthew, if the reading in Mark were allowed to be genuine. I conclude therefore that the charges of the Fathers against the Arians show much more valor and spirit than prudence.

2. "This verse might be lost by the *homœoteleuton*. The eye might jump from one *μαρτυρῶντες* to the other, and consequently the remaining part of the two verses would be, *For there are three that bear record on earth, the spirit, the water, and the blood, and the three agree in one.*" To which supposition I answer,

First, that this argument ought to be sparingly used. If a marginal addition be taken into the text by transcribers, it is likely to have for its beginning or ending the same words that begin or end the adjacent sentence. Thus Augustine's explanation might be turned into a marginal note, "Trinitas ipsa est, de qua recte dicitur, Tres sunt qui testimonium dant, Spiritus, id est, Pater; sanguis, id est, Filius; et aqua, id est, Spiritus sanctus; et tres unum sunt." Such a note would soon be pruned and polished into this form, *Sicut tres sunt qui testimonium dant in cælo, Pater, &c.* which is actually the reading of several Mss. now extant. The critics generally reject the application of the prophecy in Matt. xxvii. 35. It would be ridiculous in this instance to argue from similar endings. The same rotten buttress is used by Grabe to prop the ruinous reading, John iii. 6. And the same might be used to support Cyprian's addition, 1 John ii. 17. How easy it would be to say, that the words which were in Cyprian's copy, and consequently in the Old Italic, and consequently in the Greek Mss. of the second century, and consequently in St. John's autograph, were swallowed up by that voracious monster, the *homœoteleuton*! "Qui autem facit voluntatem Dei, manet in æternum, quomodo et Deus manet in æternum." If any man writes glosses and explanations in the margin of a book, he will find that many of them will begin like the following or end like the foregoing sentence. This canon however will do one good thing; it will make interpolation the easiest matter in the world. A forger has nothing to do but to take care that the passage which he inserts shall have this single requisite of a similar ending, and he will be provided with

a sufficient answer to all arguments drawn from the authority of Mss. and of versions, and from the silence of intermediate writers.

Secondly, this argument from the homœoteleuton is utterly excluded by the malice of fortune. For in the leap from one *μαρτυροῦντες* to another, the transcriber must have left untouched those puzzling words, *ἐν τῇ γῇ*. But those words are in no Greek Ms. in no version, in no Greek author that quotes the eighth verse; and almost all the Latin Mss. and Fathers that omit the heavenly witnesses, omit too all mention of the earth. I have referred, Letter II. p. 245. to Simon's seeming assertion that a Greek Ms. retained the words *ἐν τῇ γῇ*, but I have there given my reasons why he is mistaken. Newton had already hinted the same suspicion; and I have since seen a manuscript note of De Missy's in the margin of Wetstein's N. T. vol. ii. p. 721. where he adopts the same opinion, though he had formerly reasoned on the contrary supposition as an undoubted fact, Journ. Brit. xi. p. 78. I now dare boldly affirm that those words were no more in that Ms. than in any other. For Abbé Roger, in his dissertation on 1 John v. 7. p. 32. transcribes the eighth verse from this very Ms. and omits the words *ἐν τῇ γῇ*. Bede and Facundus I have already cleared from this spurious addition. Newton also supposes, what is not improbable, that the Latin Mss. which omit the seventh verse, and retain *in terra*, were interpolated from orthodox Mss. by conscientious critics, who might not be scrupulous about so trifling an insertion, though they were afraid to add a whole sentence. But since the defenders of the seventh verse may in this case urge, with some plausibility, the homœoteleuton, I am content, as I have said, Letter VI. p. 72. that all such Latin Mss. be neutral.

Bengelius wishes to transpose the seventh and eighth verses. I believe that this was more frequently the position of the verses, when the heavenly witnesses first obtained admittance. But as much as this hypothesis gains in one view, it loses in the other. The allegorical interpretation will then so naturally follow the verse which it explains, particularly in the copies that announce the heavenly witnesses with a *sicut*, that the manner in which the interpolation was made will be obvious to any person acquainted with the history of Mss. Twells saw something of this consequence; for he reasons against the idea of an allegory or marginal gloss on this ground, that the oldest and best Mss. prefix the seventh verse; but, says he, if the seventh verse were a gloss engendered by the eighth, the seventh would follow the eighth. The plain answer to this reasoning is, that such indeed was the arrangement of the two verses when the interpolation began, but that it was afterwards altered in compliment to the superior dignity and excellence of the seventh. I have declined the consideration of the *Disciplina Arcani*, nor shall I resume it. It is a dangerous hypothesis, which, if it were admitted, instead of strengthening

particular passages, would weaken the authority of the whole N. T. With equal reason Mill believes that the marginal notes produced by Simon from Greek Mss. (the most palpable glosses that can be conceived), are not intended for interpretations of the eighth verse, but are really the mangled limbs of the seventh. But while these learned men urge such frivolous arguments, they show more plainly than by a direct confession, how severely they feel the want of evidence. So severely, that Bengelius at last "begs leave to hope, that in due time, if not St. John's own autograph, yet some very ancient Greek Mss. containing the verse, may be found hidden in the shelves of Divine Providence." To which pious hope Wetstein answers in the words of Cicero: "*Hic tu tabulas desideras Heracliensium publicas, quas Italico bello, incenso tabulario, interisse scimus omnes. Est ridiculum ad ea quæ habemus, nihil dicere; quærere quæ habere non possumus.*"

3. "But the tenor of the context requires us to keep the verse." The opposers of the verse say, on the contrary, that its insertion confuses the whole sense, breaks the connexion, and makes the most intricate and ambiguous sentence that ever was seen. For my own part, I thought Newton's exposition of the shorter reading probable and consistent enough, till I was told by Dr. Horsley, Tracts, p. 346. that "it was a model of that sort of paraphrase by which any given sense may be fixed to any given words." I suspected, I confess, at first, that having before him both your exposition and Newton's, he might have confounded them in his mind, and given to Newton's the character which was due to yours. But this opinion I soon abandoned. I wish therefore that Dr. Horsley had favored us with his own paraphrase, and shown the truth of his assertion, "that the omission of the seventh verse breaks the connexion and heightens the obscurity of the apostle's discourse." Certainly the mention of the water, blood, and spirit, in the sixth verse, is with great propriety followed by the repetition of the same terms in the genuine text; which repetition is rendered emphatic by the exaltation of the spirit, water, and blood, into three witnesses. If the spirit that witnesses in the sixth verse be the Holy Spirit, which I think cannot be doubted, "because the Spirit is truth," why is the epithet, after being twice omitted, added in the seventh verse, to mark a distinction without a difference? If the word "holy," which is omitted in some few Mss. be spurious, why is the human spirit, without any mark or circumstance to distinguish it, repeated in the same breath? But if the Spirit in the eighth verse be the Holy Spirit, what is the sense of the same Spirit witnessing both in heaven and on earth? It will be to no purpose to invert the order of the words, and say, *There are three in heaven*, and *There are three on earth*, for still the Spirit is both in heaven and earth. You tell us that, without the seventh verse, the expression, *Witness of God*, in the ninth, has no due



antecedent. This, Sir, is a mistake. The witness of the Spirit in the sixth and eighth verses is a proper antecedent. The Spirit may be taken in two senses. The orthodox, who understand the Spirit personally, cannot deny that the witness of the Spirit is the witness of God; nor will either the orthodox or heretics deny, that the miraculous gifts of the Spirit, which attested the divine mission of Jesus, were truly the witness of God, which he witnessed of his Son. I have diligently perused all the orthodox expositions that have fallen in my way, but without ever having the good luck to understand them. I remember one very ingenious gentleman, who, in two letters to Dr. Bentley, offers to prove that the seventh verse is essential to the context, and only assumes two self-evident propositions: 1. That the Spirit signifies the mediatorial office; and, 2. That the water is the *Shechinah*. But I have dwelt longer than I intended on this subject. Where there is no external evidence, internal evidence can never be pleaded for the necessity of so large, and so important an addition. I shall therefore hasten to dismiss the subject by a brief recapitulation of the inferences which may fairly be deduced from the facts dispersed through the foregoing Letters.

The only genuine words of 1 John v. 7, 8. are these: "Οτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ αἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν. This is the reading of all the Greek Mss. above a hundred and ten; of near thirty of the oldest Latin, of the two Syriac versions, of the Coptic, Arabic, Æthiopic, and Slavonic. But Tertullian, in imitation of the phrase, *I and my Father are one*,<sup>1</sup> had said of the three persons of the Trinity, *Which three are one*. Cyprian was misled by this passage of his master. Taking it for an allusion to scripture, he wisely inferred that it was an application of 1 John v. 8. and, as he had no doubt of Tertullian's infallibility, he adopted the same application, and said boldly, "Of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, it is written, *And the three are one*."

That Cyprian in this place interprets the eighth verse, we are told by Facundus, who, by appealing to this very place of Cyprian to prove that the spirit, water, and blood, are meant of the Trinity, shows that he knew of no such text, and that in his opinion Cyprian knew of no such text, as the three heavenly witnesses. Fulgentius indeed quotes Cyprian's authority for the modern reading, but from the manner of his appeal it appears that he could not quote the verse on the faith of copies of his own age, and therefore relied on the faith, as he supposed, of Cyprian's copy.

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<sup>1</sup> An antagonist of Beza's told him, that instead of endeavoring to wrest so stubborn a text as, *This is my body*, by vain explanations, he would do better to amend it at once, and read, *This is not my body*. The Jesuit Garasse (see Bayle, au mot *Beza*) soon after asserted, in print, that Beza had actually proposed this reading.

In the interval of more than two centuries, when this interpretation had been expressly maintained by Augustine and Eucherius, a marginal note of this sort crept into a few copies; *Sicut tres sunt qui testimonium dant in celo, Pater, &c.* Such a copy was used by the author of the confession which Victor has preserved. Such another was used by the author of the books *De Trinitate*, if indeed he was a different person from the other. He would miss no fair opportunity of producing his favorite text, of which he perhaps was the fonder for having newly found it. The verse however seems to have had very small success till the eighth century, when the forger or forgers of the decretals, and of the spurious prologue to the canonical epistles, recommended it to public notice. Yet still it remained a rude, unformed mass, and was not completely licked into shape before the end of the tenth century. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was universally received for genuine, and therefore cited without suspicion in the Acts of the Lateran Council. These Acts were translated into Greek about the year 1300, and from them Emanuel Calecas borrowed his quotation. Joseph Bryennius, too, in the fifteenth century, quotes the same verse, but either from the Latin version, or from his friend Thomas Aquinas. In the thirteenth century, Haytho, king of Armenia, undertook to make a new edition of the Armenian scriptures, with the aid of Jerome's prologues and the Latin version. Haytho most probably inserted this verse in his edition on the authority of his supposed Jerome; but if Haytho, which is scarcely possible, neglected it; Uskan, who improved Haytho's edition from the Vulgate, could not fail of supplying the defect. With equal accuracy and fidelity this verse has been imposed on the modern Greeks in their printed Apostolos, on the Indian Christians by Menezes, on the Russians by their late editors, and on every other Christian nation in their several translations. It has been honestly inserted in several of the Syriac editions, and in the Greek and Russian confessions of faith.

The reader, who recollects the substance of my *Letters*, will easily distinguish the probabilities from the positive facts. But from the facts stated in this historical deduction, it is evident, that if the text of the heavenly witnesses had been known from the beginning of Christianity, the ancients would have eagerly seized it, inserted it in their creeds, quoted it repeatedly against the heretics, and selected it for the brightest ornament of every book that they wrote on the subject of the Trinity.

In short, if this verse be really genuine, notwithstanding its absence from all the visible Greek Mss. except two; one of which awkwardly translates the verse from the Latin, and the other transcribes it from a printed book; notwithstanding its absence from all the versions except the Vulgate, and even from many of the best and oldest Mss. of the Vulgate; notwithstanding the deep

and dead silence of all the Greek writers down to the thirteenth, and most of the Latins down to the middle of the eighth century; if, in spite of all these objections, it be still genuine, no part of scripture whatsoever can be proved either spurious or genuine; and Satan has been permitted, for many centuries, miraculously to banish the finest passage in the N. T. from the eyes and memories of almost all the Christian authors, translators, and transcribers.

At last, Sir, I see land. I have so clearly explained my sentiments concerning the authority of the disputed verse, and the merits of your book, in the progress of these Letters, that it will be needless to add any thing on either of those topics. As I was persuaded that Mr. Gibbon would never condescend to answer you, I have been bold enough to trouble you with my objections to your facts and arguments. The proofs of the spuriousness of 1 John v. 7. that I have enumerated, are, in my opinion, more than sufficient to convince any reasonable man. But whatever success I may have had in the main question, there is another point which I have proved to demonstration, that Mr. Travis is radically ignorant of the subject which he has undertaken to illustrate. You may therefore reply, Sir, or not, as shall seem good to you. If you think proper not to expose yourself again, which, to speak as a friend, I should think your wisest plan, I shall attribute your silence to a consciousness of your own weakness. You will call it contempt of your adversary, and I cannot deny the retaliation to be fair enough, considering with how small respect I have treated an author, who "has vindicated the authenticity of that important passage (1 John v. 7.) in a superior way, so as to leave no room for future doubt or cavil."<sup>1</sup> But if you reply, as you half promise,<sup>2</sup> I shall not think myself bound to continue the debate, unless both your matter and style much excel your Letters to Mr. Gibbon, and still more that Crambe recocta<sup>3</sup> which you called a defence of Stephens and Beza. Such replies will carry their own refutation with them to all readers that are not eaten up with prejudice; and others it would be folly to expect to satisfy. I shall therefore be perfectly silent, unless you can disprove the charges that I have brought against you, of ignorance and misrepresentation. In case of conviction, I dare not promise to retract

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<sup>1</sup> "An Apology for the Liturgy and Clergy of the Church of England," p. 57, 58. How much stronger is this than the faint, half-faced compliment paid by the author of "Considerations on the Expediency of revising the Liturgy and Articles," p. 70. "Mr. Travis's labors on the genuineness of this text are highly meritorious!" And, as if this compliment were not cold enough, he soon damps it by adding, that many excellent critics will not admit Mr. Travis's vindication to be such as leaves no room for future doubt. From this and similar passages, our Consistent Protestant is, I fear, little better than a heretic.

<sup>2</sup> Gentleman's Magazine for March, 1790.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Jan. 1790.

publicly (for I know how frail are the vows of authors and lovers), but I promise to try. If you confess the charges, and yet maintain that the errors you have committed are venial, and consistent with a knowledge of the subject, I shall excuse myself from the controversy, and consider you as degraded from that rank of literature which entitles one writer to challenge another.

## ON THE SITUATION OF THE HADES OF HOMER.

WHEN Ulysses leaves the residence of Circe, he seeks, by the direction of the goddess,

“The dreary house of Aïdes, and of dread  
Persephone.”

— Ἀΐδαο δόμονα καὶ ἐπαινῆς Περσεφονείης. *Odys.* κ. 491.

The characteristics of its situation are distinctly marked by the poet,

Ἰστὸν δὲ στήσας, ἀνὰ δ' ἰστίᾳ λευκὰ περάσσας,

Ἦσθαι· τὴν δέ κέ τοι πνοιῇ Βορέας φέρησιν.

Ἄλλ' ὅπότ' ἂν δὴ νηὶ δι' ὠκεανοῖο περήσῃς,

Ἐνθ' ἀκτὴ τε λάχεια καὶ ἄλσέα Περσεφονείης,

Μακρὰ τ' αἵγειροι, καὶ ἰτέαι ὠλεστικάρποι·

Νῆα μὲν αὐτοῦ κέλσαι ἐπ' ὠκεανῷ βαθυδίλῃ,

Αὐτὸς δ' εἰς Ἀΐδew ἵεναι δόμον εὐρώεντα.

Ἐνθα μὲν εἰς Ἀχέροντα Πυριφλεγέθων τε ῥέονσι,

Κώκυτος θ', ὅς δὴ Στυγὸς ὕδατος ἐστὶν ἀποβόρῳξ. κ. τ. λ.

*Odys.* κ. 505.

“ — once on board,

Your mast erected, and your shining sail  
Unfurl'd, sit thou; the breathing north shall waft  
This vessel on. But when ye shall have cross'd  
The broad expanse of ocean, and shall reach  
The oozy shore, where grow the poplar groves  
And fruitless willows wan of Proserpine,  
Push thither through the gulphy deep thy bark,  
And, landing, haste to Pluto's murky abode.  
There into Acheron runs not alone  
Dread Pyriphlegethon, but Cocythus loud,  
From Styx derived.”

From these lines we may learn that the road to Hades lay in a southern direction from the Ææan isle, and that Hades itself was situated *beyond the ocean*.

But what are we to understand by the 'Ωκεανός of Homer? Let us hear what his commentators have to say. In the first place, then, Cowper tells us, that by 'Ωκεανός "Homer could not possibly intend any other than a river;" and this river, he supposes, was the Nile. This he took from Clarke,<sup>1</sup> and Clarke took it from Diodorus Siculus. But all that Diodorus says, is, that some of the descriptions which Homer gives of the infernal regions are similar to the allegorical exhibitions of the Egyptians,<sup>2</sup> and that the most ancient name of the Nile amongst the Egyptians was 'Οκεάμην, which he græcizes into 'Ωκεανός;<sup>3</sup> and on this foundation asserts, in other places, that the Egyptians themselves called it 'Ωκεανός.<sup>4</sup> What gave rise to this absurdity was the expression of the poet ποταμός 'Ωκεανός.

Τὴν δὲ κατ' Ὀκεανὸν ποταμὸν φέρε κύμα ῥόοιο. Odyss. λ'. 638.  
And,

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ποταμοῖο λίπεν ῥόον Ὀκεανοῖο. Odyss. μ'. 1.

"I know of no such river as the 'Ωκεανός," says Herodotus; "but I think that Homer, or some of the poets who preceded him, invented the name, and inserted it into their poetry."<sup>5</sup> Eustathius speaks of it as a poetical license, which all poets are allowed to make use of.<sup>6</sup> The mode in which Strabo endeavors to evade the difficulty may be seen in the note below.<sup>7</sup> Ste-

<sup>1</sup> Clarke, note on Odyss. λ'. 638. and ω'. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. in fine.

<sup>3</sup> Τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν [the Nile] ἀρχαῖότατον μὲν ὄνομα σχεῖν Ὀκεάμην, ὅς ἐστιν Ἑλληνιστὶ Ὀκεανός.

<sup>4</sup> Ὀκεανὸν μὲν οὖν καλεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν, διὰ τὸ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν διδασκόν, Ὀκεανὸν λέγειν τὸν Νεῖλον. And again, Οἱ γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσιν Ὀκεανὸν εἶναι τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ποταμὸν Νεῖλον.

<sup>5</sup> Οὐ γὰρ τινα ἔγωγε οἶδα ποταμὸν Ὀκεανὸν ἰόντα Ὅμηρον δὲ, ἢ τινα τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ποιητῶν, δοκέω τὸ ὄνομα εὐρόντα ἐς τὴν ποιήσιν ἐσενείκασθαι. Herod. lib. ii. p. 109. Ed. H. Stephan. 1692.

<sup>6</sup> Ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ὁ ποιητὴς ἐμφαίνει θάλασσαν εἶναι τὸν Ὀκεανὸν κατὰ τοὺς φιλοσόφους, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῦτα ποταμὸν φανερώς αὐτὸν λέγει, ποιητικῶς φράζων, ὥστε τῆς ἀλθείας ἐθέλων ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ τῇ ποιήσει δὲ τὰ ἐκτὸς χαρίζομενος. Eustathius in Odyss. λ'. 638.

<sup>7</sup> Ποσειδάωνος δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σκοπέλους λέγειν τοτὲ μὲν καλυπτομένους, τοτὲ δὲ γυμνομένους, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμὸν φάναι τὸν Ὀκεανὸν, εἰκάζει τὸ ῥωδες αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς πλημμυρίδας ἐμφανίζεσθαι· τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον εἶ· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον οὐκ ἔχει λόγον. Ὅτε γὰρ ποταμὸς βέβηται, τοῦτο ἡ τῆς πλημμυρίδος ἐπίβασις· πολλὸν δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀναχώρησις οὐ τοιαύτη. Ὁ, τε τοῦ Κράτῃτος λόγος διδάσκει τι πικρύτερον. Βαθύβροον μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀφύβροον λέγει, (ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ποταμὸν) τὸν ὅλον Ὀκεανὸν, λέγει δὲ καὶ μέρος τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ τι ποταμὸν, καὶ ποταμοῖο ῥόον, οὐ τοῦ ὅλου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μέρους, ὅταν οὕτω φησὶν·

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ποταμοῖο λίπεν ῥόον Ὀκεανοῖο

Νηῦς, ἀπὸ δ' ἴκετο κύμα θαλάσσης εὐρυπύροιο.

Οὐ γὰρ τὸν ὅλον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῷ Ὀκεανῷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ῥόον μέρος ὄντα τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ, κ. τ. λ. Strabo, lib. i. c. 1. p. 6. Ed. Lips. 1819.

phanus Byzantius, however, has 'Ωκεανός, ὁ ποταμός, ὁ περιέχων τὴν γῆν;<sup>1</sup> and Plato, speaking of the rivers of Tartarus, says that the largest and outermost is called Oceanus, and flows περιέκλῳ in a circle round about.<sup>2</sup> And this, too, is taken from Homer himself, who, speaking of the obstacles which lay in the way of those coming from the living to the shades, says :

Μέσσω γὰρ μεγάλοι ποταμοὶ καὶ δεινὰ ῥέεθρα,  
'Ωκεανὸς μὲν πρῶτα. *Odyss.* λ'. 156.

There has been another interpretation given of 'Ωκεανός. Hesychius tells us that it signifies the *air*—'Ωκεανός, ἀήρ, θάλασσα,—and that 'Ωκεανοῖο πόρον signifies τὸν ἀέρα εἰς ὃν αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν τελευτώντων ἀποχωροῦσι; and accordingly the Scholiast on Hesiod interprets,

— παρ' 'Ωκεανὸν βαθυδίνην,

by ἐν τῷ ἀέρι.<sup>3</sup> But I think few will follow him. The origin of this, by the way, we may learn from the same scholiast. Τάρταρά τ' ἡρόντα τὰ δίκηοντα, says he, μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων τῆς γῆς, λέγει δὲ τὸν 'ΑΕΡΑ τὸν τὴν γῆν ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΝΤΑ. The ancients had some notion of an 'Ωκεανός, or general boundary of the earth, and that near to the land it was water; but their knowledge was so circumscribed, that they seem to have supposed both the *air*, and the *land*, and the *water*, to become finally blended together; and so Hesiod,

'Ενθα δὲ γῆς δοφερῆς, καὶ Ταρτάρου ἡρόντος,  
Πόντου τ' ἀπρυγέτοιο, καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,  
'Εξείης πάντων πηγαὶ καὶ πείρατ' ἔασιν,  
'Αργαλέ', εὐρώεντα, γὰρ τε στυγέουσι θεοὶ περ.

*Theog.* v. 807.

This seems to have been what they termed Χάος and Τάρταρος: and as the water was believed to blend into the air, it was very natural for them to take Τάρταρος for τὸν ἀέρα τὸν τὴν γῆν περιέχοντα. And hence they would confound it with the air in general, which was also a boundary; and hence, too, Jo. Diaconus (*Αλληγορίαι* in Hes.) says 'Ωκεανός γὰρ ὁ 'ΟΡΙΖΩΝ λέγεται. ἔστι δὲ ὀρίζων ΚΤΚΛΟΣ ΔΙΑΙΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΑΝΩ ΗΜΙΣΦΑΙΡΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΩ.

But let us try if we cannot discover from Homer himself

<sup>1</sup> Stephanus Byzant. in 'Ωκεανός.

<sup>2</sup> Τυχάνει δ' ἄρα ἔντα ἐν τοῖτοις τοῖς πολλοῖς τέτταρ' ἔκτα ρεύματα, ὃν τὸ μὲν μέγιστον καὶ ἐξωτάτω ρέον περικύκλῳ, ὁ καλούμενος 'Ωκεανός ἐστι, κ. τ. λ. Platonis *Phædo*, p. 400. c. Ed. Lugd. 1590.

<sup>3</sup> Vide Heinsium ad Hesiod. p. 68.

what he means by 'Ωκεανός. He tells us that it is situated at the end of the earth :

Εἰμι γὰρ ὀψομένη πολυφάρβου πείρατα γαίης,  
'Ωκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν. Il. ξ'. 200.

And,

'Αλλὰ σ' ἐς 'Ηλύσιον πεδῖον καὶ πείρατα γαίης  
'Αθάνατοι πέμψουσιν.

Οὐ νικητὸς, οὐτ' ἄρ χειμῶν πολὺς, οὔτε πόντ' ὄμβρος,  
'Αλλ' αἰεὶ Ζεφύροιο λιγυπνεύοντος ἄητας  
'Ωκεανὸς ἀνίσχιν. Odys. δ'. 563.

And he says further—

— βαθυῤῥέϊται μέγα σθένος 'Ωκεανοῖο,  
'Εξ οὐπερ πάντες ποταμοὶ, καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα,  
Καὶ πᾶσαι κρήναι, καὶ φρεῖατα μακρὰ νάουσιν. Il. φ'. 195.

From which it is evident that he understood by the ocean the general boundary, and that the word is used by Homer in no other sense than that in which it was used by other writers. He tells us, too, that the Ethiopians dwelt on the ocean :

Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐπ' 'Ωκεανὸν μετ' ἀμίμονας Αἰθιοπῆας  
Χθιζὸς ἔβη μετὰ δαῖτα. Il. α'. 423.

And the Ethiopians were the last of men.

Αἰθιοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίταται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν. Odys. α'. 22.

And here the Scholiast,<sup>1</sup> and Clarke after him, will have 'Ωκεανός to be ποταμός, a river. But Strabo's interpretation will at last prove right ; that it is τὸν ὠκεανὸν τὸν καθ' ὅλον τὸ μισημβρινὸν κλίμα τεταγμένον :<sup>2</sup> for all the parts of Africa that bordered on the ocean were inhabited by Ethiopians, who might therefore be justly termed the last of men, as dwelling at what was believed to be the end of the world.<sup>3</sup> And so Eustathius, speaking of the figure of Africa, says, τὸν πρὸς τῇ Αἰθιοπία νοτίαν ὠκεανῆτιν πλευράν.<sup>4</sup>

This, then, is the ocean alluded to by Homer ; and the πείρατ' 'Ωκεανοῖο were none other than the Herculean Straits. And in like manner Dionysius speaks of Gades as situated,

— ἐπὶ τέρμασιν ὠκεανοῖο. v. 452.

And the term *Oceani ostium* is used by Cicero,<sup>5</sup> and by

<sup>1</sup> 'Ο δὲ 'Ωκεανὸς ποταμός ἐστι, καθ' Ὁμηρον. Schol. in Il. α'. 423.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, Geog. lib. i. p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Inde Oceanum esse dicitur, et hujus partem, quæ nemo hominum narrare potest. Sed quid ibi esse potest? Est enim desertum, et, sicut aiunt, est ibi finis mundi.—Anonymi Expositio totius Mundi et Gentium, ap. Geographiæ veteris scriptores Græci minores, vol. iii.

<sup>4</sup> Eustath. in Dionys. Perieg. v. 176.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero, Orat. pro L. Manilia. Opera, tom. ii. p. 343.

Mela,<sup>1</sup> to signify the *fretum Herculeum*. The voyage of Ulysses is, indeed, nothing more than a poetical history of the true adventures of the Phœnician navigators, who had been in the custom of passing the Straits before the time either of Homer or of his hero, and who had planted colonies and built towns on the western coast of Africa soon after the Trojan war.<sup>2</sup> And Strabo expresses the fullest conviction that the wanderings of Ulysses extended as far as the Atlantic.<sup>3</sup>

On the ocean, Homer tells us, dwelt the Cimmerians :

Ἡ δ' ἐς πελαθ' ἵκανε βαθυρρόον Ἰκεανοῖο·

Ἐνθα δὲ Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμος τε, πόλις τε. *Odyss.* λ'. 13.

Here, then, we are told, is a decisive proof that Homer's *Νεκυομαντία* must be placed in Italy. And why? Because, forsooth, Ephorus places the Cimmerians in Italy, about Avernus, and says that they lived in subterraneous cells called Argillæ.<sup>4</sup> But there were Cimmerians, we know, and who preserved their name, farther west than these, even on the ocean. The Britons were Cimmerians, as their name, which they have preserved to the present day, will testify.<sup>5</sup> We find the name too in the Cimbri of Germany,<sup>6</sup> who dwelt also on the ocean,<sup>7</sup> and in the *Chersonesus Cimbrica*.<sup>8</sup> And both Strabo and Plutarch confess that the Cimbri were the same people as the Cimmerians of the Bosphorus.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, Diodorus Siculus includes all the Celtic tribes, and even the Britons, as one people, whom he allows to be the same as the Asiatic Cimmerians.<sup>10</sup> And it is in these parts that Claudian places the scene of Homer's *Νεκυομαντία*—

<sup>1</sup> Mela, lib. iii. c. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Οἱ [Φοίνικες] καὶ τὰ ἔξω τῶν Ἑρακλείων στηλῶν ἐπῆλθον, καὶ πόλεις ἔκτισαν καὶ καὶ περὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς Λιβύης παραλίας μικρὸν τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ὑστερον. Strabo, lib. i. c. 3. p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα φανερῶς ἐν τῇ Ἀτλαντικῇ πελάγει πλαττόμενα δηλοῦται. Strabo, lib. i. p. 40. And again : Οὐ δὲ θαυμάζοι τις ἂν οὔτε τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ὀδυσσεύς πλάνην μυθογραφῆσαντος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ὅστ' ἔξω στηλῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀτλαντικῇ πελάγει τὰ πολλὰ διαβέσθαι τῶν λεγομένων περὶ αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. λ. lib. iii. c. 4. p. 252.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. Strab. lib. v.

<sup>5</sup> Cymry.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, lib. iv. c. 3, 4. lib. vii. c. 1.—Plin. lib. iv. c. 14. et lib. xxxvi. c. 1. —Mela, lib. iii. c. 3. Justin, lib. xxxix. c. 3, 4.—Cæsar de Bell. Gal., &c.

<sup>7</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. c. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Vide Mela, &c.

<sup>9</sup> Ταῦτα δὲ δικαίως ἐπιτιμᾷ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι Ποσειδώνιος, καὶ οὐ κακῶς εἰκάζει, ὅτι Ἀποτρικολὶ ὄντες καὶ πλάνητες οἱ Κίμβροι, καὶ μέχρι τῶν περὶ τὴν Μαυρίων ποτῆ-σαστο στρατεῖαν· ἀπ' ἐκείνων δὲ καὶ ὁ Κιμμέριος κληθεῖς Βόσπορος, ὃν Κιμβρικὸς, Κιμμερίους τοὺς Κίμβρους ὀνομασάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Strabo, lib. vii. c. 2. p. 69. Vide Plutarch. in Vit. Marii.

<sup>10</sup> Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. c. 32. p. 355.



Est locus *extremum* qua pāndit *Gallia litus*  
*Oceani* prætentus aquis, ubi fertur Ulysses  
 Sanguine libato populum movisse silentem.<sup>1</sup>

Eustathius again resolves it all into a figment, and tells us that it is merely a poetical fable founded on the sound of the name—*Κιμμέριοι*, *quasi* *περὶ ἡρία* *vel* *περὶ ἱραν* *κείμενοι*.<sup>2</sup> But Tzetzes tells us plainly that the Cimmerians were a nation dwelling on the Western Ocean;<sup>3</sup> and the Scholiast on Homer has an observation to the same effect.<sup>4</sup>

Homer characterises the Cimmerians, i. e. their country, and not their dwellings, as being clothed in darkness :

Ἐνθα δὲ Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμός τε, πόλις τε,  
 Ἡέρι καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένοι· οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοὺς  
 Ἡέλιος φαέθων ἐπιδέρεται ἀκτίνεσσιν,  
 Οὐδ' ὅπότε' ἂν στείχῃσι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα,  
 Οὐθ' ὅταν ἂψ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν προτράπηται.  
 Odyss. λ'. 14.

And in the twenty-fourth book he calls them *δῆμον* *Ὀνειρων*, a people of dreams :

Πάρ δ' ἴσαν Ὀκεανοῦ τε ροαῖς καὶ λευκάδα πέτρην,  
 Ἡδὲ παρ' Ἡελίοιο πύλας, καὶ δῆμον Ὀνειρων,  
 Ἡΐσαν.  
 Odyss. ω'. 11.

*Δῆμον* *Ὀνειρων*. *Τὴν νύκτα*, says the Scholiast, *ἐν ᾗ φαίνονται οἱ ὄνειροι*, i. e. the country was a region of darkness. Hades itself was "an obscure place filled with eternal gloom and shade."<sup>5</sup> And thus when Virgil places forests on the boundaries of Tartarus,

— Tenent media omnia *sylvæ*. *Æn.* vi. 131.

Servius says that we are to understand thereby darkness—"nam per *sylvas* tenebras et lustra significat." And Virgil himself a little after (v. 138.) couples together woods and darkness :

— hunc tegit omnis

*Lucus*, et obscuris claudunt convallibus umbræ.

<sup>1</sup> Claud. in Rufin. lib. i. v. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Οὐτὰ καὶ τοὺς Κιμμερίους ἔθνος ὄντας ἱστορίας γνωστὸν, μετακλιζέειν θέλει πρὸς παροιμίαν ὅδου διὰ ὁμοιότητα καὶ αὐτοὺς ὀνόματα ἐπιλεξάμενος· δοκεῖ γὰρ παραθηλοῦν κατὰ τὸν ἦχον τῆς προσφορᾶς ἢ λέξης, τοὺς περὶ ἡρία κείμενους ἢ περὶ ἱραν, ὥς οἶον νέεστερους. Eustath. in Odyss. λ'. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Κιμμέριοι, ἔθνος περὶ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν ζόφῳ κεκαλυμμένον. Tzetzes in Lycophron. Alexand. v. 1427. And, Οἱ Κιμμέριοι δὲ, κατὰ μὲν Ὀμηρον, περὶ τὸν δυτικὸν Ὀκεανὸν κεύνται. Tzetzes in Lycophron. v. 695.

<sup>4</sup> Ἄλλοι δὲ Κιμμερίους φασὶν ὀνομασθῆναι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν εἰκοῦντας καὶ προσκειμένους, τοῖς κατὰ τὸν ὄψιν τόποις. Didymi Schol. in Odyss. λ'. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Ἄθης, χωρίον ἀφύγγες, σκότους αἰθέριον καὶ ζόφου πεπληρωμένον. Etymologicum Magnum, in verbo.

Again, when Virgil mentions

— loca nocte silentia late, v. 265.

Servius observes, “Aut hoc est quod supra ait, Umbraeque silentes, aut vult ostendere esse *partem mundi*, in qua *perpetuæ sunt tenebræ*.” Accordingly we generally find the western parts of Europe, with the seas and islands adjacent, coupled in the writings of the ancients with the idea of darkness and of gloom. They were the regions of the setting sun. Thus Hesiod, speaking of the Gorgons,

Γοργούς θ', αἱ ναλοῦσι πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὀκεανοῖο,  
Ἑσχαριῇ πρὸς ΝΥΚΤΟΣ. Hesiod. Theogn. v. 274.

And the cattle of Geryon, in Erythia, were kept

Σταθμῷ ἐν ἙΠΟΕΝΤΙ, πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὀκεανοῖο.

Theog. v. 293.

The ocean, according to Suidas, was not navigable, partly on this account—*διεκπλεῦσαι οὐκ ἐν βραχύδι καὶ ΣΚΟΤΟΕΙΔΗ τυγχάνοντα*.<sup>1</sup> And in later times, the Nubian geographer, Al Edrisi, uniformly speaks of the Atlantic as (according to the Latin version) *mare tenebrosum*, or *mare tenebrarum*.<sup>2</sup> The island Thule, which was a name successively applied to most of the isles of the Celtic coast, was particularly represented as a gloomy place. Bochart would even derive its name from this circumstance—*quasi* *גִּזְרַת תְּהוֹל* *gezirat Thule*, i. e. *insula tenebrarum*. Thus Statius:

Vel super Hesperiae vada *caligantia* Thules.—Sylv. lib. iii. 5. 20.

And again,

— *Nigræ* littora Thules.—Lib. iv. 4. 62.

And,

— *Quantusque nigrantem*

Fluctibus occiduis fessoque Hyperione Thulen.—Lib. v. 2. 55.

We may learn, however, from the geographers, what it was to which the poets alluded—it was the length of the night during winter in the northern climates.<sup>3</sup> And it is not a little remarkable that according to Eustathius the kind of darkness which made the Cimmerians proverbial, was precisely the same

<sup>1</sup> Suidas in Ὀκεανός.

<sup>2</sup> “Ea occidentis ulterioris parte, in qua e mari *Tenebroso* egreditur sinus maris Damasceni tendens in Orientem.” And just after, “inter mare Damascenum ac *mare Tenebrosum*.” And again, “Aggressi sunt *mare Tenebrarum*, quid in eo esset exploraturi.” *Geographia Nubiensis ex Arab. in Lat. a Gabrieli Sicinita, &c. Par. 1619.*

<sup>3</sup> “Noctes per hyemem obscuræ.” Mela, lib. iii. c. 6.—“Nulli per brumam dies.” Plin. lib. ii. c. 75.—And so Strabo, Ἥλιος οὐκ ἔχουσι καθαρὸς. Lib. iv.

as that for which Thule was famous :—ὡς ἐντεῦθεν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῷ ἑκατὶ κλίματι μερίζεσθαι εἰς ἡμερονύκτιον ἐν, ἥγουν εἰς μίαν ἡμέραν, καὶ εἰς μίαν νύκτα· καθὰ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος περὶ τῶν Κιμμερίων λέγων, φησὶ μὴ ἐνδέχεσθαι, ἀνθρώπους εἶναι οἱ τὴν ἐξάμνηνον νύκτα καθευδουσιν.<sup>1</sup>

Another characteristic of the place given by Homer is the λευκάδα πέτρην, which was situated, according to the Scholiast, πρὸς τοῖς καταχθονίοις μέρεσιν, and which Eustathius has, *de more*, turned all into a fable. May it not have some reference to the white cliffs which it is pretended gave first to Britain the name of *Albion*? The whiteness of the cliffs would most probably be one of the first and principal sea-marks of the Phœnicians to recognise the coast by; and it is evidently to the British isles that the ancients refer under the name of Tartarus, as the more southerly islands of the Hesperides were their Elysium.

Hades and Tartarus, and the adjacent parts, were sacred to Pluto, and more particularly to Proserpine. Thus Homer :

Ἦ τί μοι εἶδωλον τόδ' ἀγαυὴ Περσεφόνηια  
ᾠγρυν'. Odyss. λ'. 212.

And,

— ὦτρυνεν γὰρ ἀγαυὴ Περσεφόνηια. Ibidem, v. 225.

And,

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ψυχὰς μὲν ἀπεσκέδασ' ἄλλυδις ἄλλη  
Ἄγνῃ Περσεφόνηια. v. 384.

And,

— ἐμὲ δὲ χλωρὸν δέος ἦρει,  
Μή μοι Γοργεῖην κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου  
Ἐξ Ἀΐδος πέμπειεν ἀγαυὴ Περσεφόνηια. v. 632.

Accordingly we learn from the Scholiast on Plato edited by Rubakenius, that there were seven islands in the ocean which lies without the Straits, sacred to Proserpine.<sup>2</sup> And Strabo, speaking of the wonders related of these parts, says : περὶ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρης, πιστότερα· ὅτι φησὶν εἶναι νῆσον πρὸς τῇ Βρεττανικῇ, καθ' ἣν ὁμοῖα τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ περὶ τὴν Δήμητραν καὶ τὴν Κόρην ἱεροποιεῖται.<sup>3</sup>

Saturn, too, was said to be banished to and confined in Tartarus—

<sup>1</sup> Eustathius in Dionys. Perieg. v. 581.

<sup>2</sup> Ὅτι μὲν ἐγένετο τριακτὴ τις νῆσος καὶ τηλικαύτη, δηλοῦσι τινὲς τῶν ιστορούντων τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐξω θαλάσσης· εἶναι γὰρ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν χρόνοις ἐπὶ μὲν νῆσους ἐν ἀκείνῃ τῇ πελάγει Περσεφόνης ἱεράς. Schol. in Plat. Ed. Ruhnck. in *Timæum*, p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, lib. iv. c. 4. p. 320.

— οὐδ' εἰ κε τὰ νηλεα πείραθ' ἱσθῇ

Γαίης καὶ πόντου, ἴν' Ἰαπετός τε Κρόνος τε

ἦμενοι, οὐτ' αὐγῆς ὑπερίονος ἡελίου

τέρποντ', οὐτ' ἀνέμοισι· βαθὺς δέ τε Τάρταρος ἀμφί. *Il. θ'. 478.*

Plutarch, speaking of the demons and perturbations and prodigies in the air, and other wonders which were fabled to be heard and seen in the islands of Britain, says, that "in one of those islands *Saturn* was reported to be imprisoned, with many demons attendant on him."<sup>1</sup> And in another place he tells us the same story of several islands to the west of Britain; "in one of which," says he, "the barbarians feign that *Saturn* is detained by Jupiter, who, as his son, having the care of these islands and the sea adjacent, which is named *Κρόνιον Πέλαγος*, resides a little below."<sup>2</sup> Indeed the name of *Κρόνος* or *Saturn* is intimately connected with these parts in all the accounts that the Greeks give of them. The ocean itself, above the Straits, was termed *Κρόνιος Ὠκεανός*:<sup>3</sup>

"Ἦτοι ὁ μὲν Λοκροῖο παρ' ἐσχατιῇν Ζεφύρου

"Ἄγλας ἐσπέριος κυκλήσκειται· αὐτὰρ ὑπερθεν

Πρὸς βορέην, ἵνα παῖδες ἀρειμανέων Ἀριμασπῶν,

Πόντον μιν καλέουσι πεπηγότα τε Κρόνιον τε.

*Dionys. Perieg. v. 29.*

Ὁ δὲ πρὸς βορρᾶν, πεπηγὼς λέγεται πόντος, καὶ Κρόνιος, observes Eustathius; and, after rehearsing the various reasons assigned for the name, he adds—ὁ δὲ μῦθος καὶ τὰ τῶν Κρόνου ἐκτεμῶν αἰδοῦναι ἐκεῖ ῥίπτεται.<sup>4</sup> Porphyrus tells us that *Saturn* constructed a cave in the ocean, were he concealed his children.<sup>5</sup> Strabo, speak-

<sup>1</sup> Ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἔφη τῶν περὶ τὴν Βρεττανίαν νήσων εἶναι πολλὰς ἐρήμους σκορδάδας, ἐν ἑνίᾳ δαιμόνων καὶ ἡρώων ὀνομάζεσθαι, πλεῖστα δὲ αὐτὸς ἱστορίας καὶ θέας ἐνεκα πομπῇ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν ἔγγιστα κειμένην τῶν ἐρήμων, ἔχουσιν οὐ πολλοὺς ἐποικοῦντας, ἱεροὺς δὲ καὶ ἀσέλους πάντας ὑπὸ τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὄντας. ἀφικομένου δ' αὐτοῦ νεωστὶ σύγχυσιν μεγάλην περὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ διοσημείας πολλὰς γενέσθαι, κ. τ. λ. ἐκεῖ μὲν τοὶ μίαν εἶναι νήσον ἐν ᾗ τὸν Κρόνον κατεῖρχθαι φρουρούμενον ὑπὸ Βριάρεω καθέδοντα. δεσμὴν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν ὕπνον μεμηχανῆσθαι. πολλοὺς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι δαίμονας ὑπαδούς καὶ θεράποντας. Plutarchus περὶ τῶν Ἐκλειοιπότων Χρησθηρίων, p. 189. ed. Basil. 1574.

<sup>2</sup> Ὀγγυγίη τις νήσος ἀπὸ πρὸθεν εἰς ἄλλ' κεῖται δρόμων ἡμερῶν πέντε Βρεττανίας ἀπέχουσα πλεοντὶ πρὸς ἐσπέραν, ἱεραὶ δὲ τρεῖς ἴσον ἀκείνης ἀφεστῶσαι, καὶ ἀλλήλων, προκεινταὶ μάλιστα κατὰ δυσμὰς ἡλίου θερμὰς, ἐν ἐν μᾶ τὸν Κρόνον οἱ βάρβαροι καθεῖρχθαι μυθολογοῦσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς, τὸν δὲ ὡς υἱὸν ἔχοντα φρουρὸν τῶν τε νήσων ἀκείνων καὶ τῆς θαλάττης, ἣν Κρόνιον Πέλαγος ὀνομάζουσι παρακίτω κείσθαι. Plutarch. περὶ τοῦ Ἐμφαινομένου Προσέπου τῷ Κύνελῃ τῆς Ξελήνης, p. 614. vide locum.

<sup>3</sup> Ἦγουν παρόκεινται τοῖς Ἐρκωῖας θρυμοῖς πρὸς τῷ αὐτῷ ΚΡΟΝΙΩ ὨΚΕΑΝΩ. Eustath. in Dionys. v. 285.

<sup>4</sup> Eustath. in Dionys. v. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Οὗτω καὶ ὁ Κρόνος ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ αὐτῷ ὕπνον κατασκευάζει, κηρύττει τοὺς ἐκτεμῶν παῖδας. Porphyr. de Antro Nympharum, p. 254.

ing of an island without the Straits, says, *Κεῖται δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐσπερίων τῆς νήσου μερῶν ἡ πόλις· προσεχὲς δ' αὐτῇ τελευταῖόν ἐστι τὸ Κρόνιον πρὸς τῇ νησίδι, κ. τ. λ.*<sup>1</sup> And Eustathius informs us that the Pillars of Hercules were once called the *Pillars of Saturn*, *ἐκαλοῦντό ποτε καὶ Κρόνου στῆλαι.*<sup>2</sup>

Tartarus was the residence of the rebellious Titans :

Hic genus antiquum Terræ, Titania pubes,

Fulmine dejecti, fundo volvuntur in imo. *Æn.* vi. 580.

And so Callimachus places the abode of the Titans amongst the Celtic tribes, in the utmost boundaries of the west :

Καὶ νῦν πότε ξυνὸς τις ἐλεύσεται ἄμμιν ἄεθλος  
"Υστατον, ὀππότε" ἂν οἱ μὲν ἐφ' Ἑλλήνεσσι μάχαιραν  
Βαρβαρικὴν καὶ Κελτὸν ἀναστήσαντες." Ἀρηά  
"Οψιγόνοι Τιτῆνες ἄφ' ἐσπέρου ἐσχατόωντος  
Ῥώσσονται, νηάδεσσιν εὐκότες ἢ ἱσάριθμοι  
Τεῖρεσιν, ἡνίκα πλεῖστα κατ' ἡέρα βουκολέονται.

*Hymn. eis Δῆλον, v. 171.*

And Justin,<sup>3</sup> and the Scholiast on Homer,<sup>4</sup> place the scene of their rebellion and discomfiture in the neighborhood of Tartessus. And Hesiod says that the Titans

*Δώματα ναιετάουσιν ἐπ' Ὀκεανοῖο θεμέθοις.* *Theogon.* v. 816.

The Saturnian Ocean was also termed the Dead Sea;

*Ἀλλὰ δ' αὖ καὶ νεκρὸν ἐφήμισαν.* *Dionys.* v. 33.

— Κρόνιον δὲ ἐκικλήσκουσιν

*Πόνρον Ὑπερβόρειοι μέρopes, νεκρὴν τε θάλασσαν.*

*Orph. Argonaut.* v. 1085.

By this we are to understand a *region of the dead* : for it is there, i. e. in Hades, and in Tartarus, that Homer describes the dwelling of the Shades. And so Claudian, speaking of the extreme western regions, says :

Est locus, extremum qua pandit Gallia litus  
Oceani prætentus aquis, ubi fertur Ulysses  
Sanguine libato populum movisse silentem.  
Illic *umbrarum* tenui stridore volantum  
Flebilis auditur quæstus. *Simulacra* coloni  
*Pallida, defunctasque* vident migrare *figuras*, &c.

*Claudian. in Rufinum, lib. i. v. 122.*

Tzetzes tells us of a people who inhabited the coasts of the ocean about Britain, and who were accustomed to hear when

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, lib. iii. c. 5. p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Eustath. in *Dionys.* v. 64.

<sup>3</sup> "Saltus vero Tartesiorum, in quibus Titanas bellum adversus deos gessisse proditur, incolere Curetes." Justin. *Hist. lib. xlv. c. 4.*

<sup>4</sup> Schol. in *Hom. Il. 9. v. 479.*

in their beds knocking at their doors, and voices calling on them: on this they arose, and, coming to the beach, found strange ships filled with seamen. Having gone on board, they arrived, after one moment's rowing, at the island of Britain, although in their own ships they could scarcely reach it in a day and a night with full sail. Here they disembarked, but saw no one; hearing however voices calling to them, and holding conversation with invisible beings. And after some time they returned home by the same conveyance, and in the same space of time. "Hither," he says, "pass over, according to the Grecians, the souls of the dead, which is similar to what Hesiod says of the heroes."<sup>1</sup> According to Porphyry, indeed, the western parts of the world generally were consecrated to the demons, as the eastern parts were to the gods.

A principal reason for supposing Homer's Hades to be in Italy, appears to have been, because Avernus was reported to be one of the entrances to the infernal domains. But if the real origin of this fable had been attended to, no such conclusion would ever have been drawn from it. The entrances to Hades will be generally found to be situated on the coast, and in such situations as to afford a presumption of their having formerly been stations, or watering-places, of the Phœnicians, in their voyages towards the Straits and the regions of the West.

One of the most famous was the Promontory of Tænarus in Laconia; and its situation, and the temple of Neptune for which it was noted, are sufficient to confirm the observation. And the author of the Orphic Argonautics mentions it particularly as the point of Greece which they made for in their return from the same voyage:

Καί β' ὅς μὲν πλώοντες εὐκτιμένην ἐπ' Ἰωλκῶν  
Θύνον· ἐγὼ δ' ἰκόμην ἐπὶ Ταίναρον ἡγεμόνευτα, κ. τ. λ.

Orph. Argonaut. v. 1376.

Such, too, was the case with Avernus. It was probably from

<sup>1</sup> Περὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν τοῦ περὶ τὴν Βρεταννίαν νῆσον Ἰκεανού, ἑθνητοὶ τινες οἰκοῦσιν ἰχθυόθρηαι, κάτοικοι μὲν θρωγγοί, φόρον δὲ μὴ τελούσιν αὐτοῖς. Οὗτοί περὶ τὰς αὐτῶν οἰκίας καθεύδοντες φωνῆς ἀκούουσι καλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς, καὶ πρότον περὶ τὰς θύρας αἰσθάνονται. ἀναστάντες δὲ πλοῖα εὐρίσκουσιν τινα, οὐχὶ τὰ αὐτῶν, ἐπιβάτων μεστέ. εἰς ταῦτα οὖν εἰσελθόντες μίᾳ βοτῇ πρὸς τὴν Βρεταννίαν νῆσον καταυροῦσι κοινὰ τῶντες. καί περ μολλίς ὀλε νυχθημέρῃ λαΐφει πεπταμένοις καταπλέοντες εἰς αὐτὴν, ὅτε ταῖς ἰσχυαῖς ναῶσι πέχρηται. ἀκεῖ γοῦν ἀποβάντες ἀδάγυσαν οὐδ' οὐκ αἰθέρες φέρονται ἐπιβάτας. οὐδὲνα δὲ δρώντες ἀκούουσι φωνῆς τῶν ὑποδεχομένων αὐτοὺς κατ' ἔσθραν, καὶ κατὰ φύλακην, καὶ κατὰ συγγενείαν καὶ τέχην καλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς· καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ ὁμοίως ἀποκρινομένων. καὶ οὕτω πάλιν μίᾳ βοτῇ πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν ἀποπλέοντες αἰσθάνονται τῶν νηῶν ἐλαφροτέρων, ἢ ὅτε οὐδ' εἶχον ἀπεκόμενον· ἐν μέντοι πάντες ἔφρασαν Ἑλλήνων, ἀκεῖ τὰς τῶν ἀποβιβασκόντων διάγειν ψυχὰς. ὁ δὲ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ φησι περὶ τῶν ἡρώων. Τὰς τες in Hesiodi Erg. p. 50. Ex O.E. Plantin. Raphelengii. 1603.

thence, or at least from thereabouts, that they made immediately for the ocean; just as we learn from Diodorus Siculus,<sup>1</sup> that the island Melita (now Malta) was to those perhaps who sailed along the African coast instead of the coast of Europe. There was reported, too, to be a descent to the shades on the coast of the Mariandyni, in Pontus:

Γῆν Μαριανδυνῶν ἐπικέλσαστε ποσῆσαντες.

"Εἴθε μὲν εἰς Αἶδαο καταβάτης ἐστὶ κέλευθος,

"Ἀκρῇ τε προβλής Ἀχεραυσίᾳς ὑψόθι τείνει,

Διὴν τ' Ἀχέρων αὐτὴν διὰ νεῖοθι τέμνων

"Ἀκρην, ἐκ μεγάλης προχούς ἴησι φάραγγος.

Apollon. Rhod. Argon. lib. ii. v. 352. vide Schol.

This was situated on the Euxine; but this sea was believed by the ancients to be connected towards the north, with the ocean. And it is worthy of remark, that there was here a cave similar to that at Tanarus.<sup>2</sup> There was a *Νεκυομαντία* in Thesprotis, which was also called Avernus. And there was, moreover, an Avernus, or *Λοργος*, near Tartessus.<sup>4</sup>

Virgil has, doubtlessly, placed his *Νεκυομαντία* in Italy. But even in Virgil's description of the infernal regions, there are many marks which identify its real situation with that of the Hades of Homer. Deiphobus, for instance, asks of Æneas—

Sed te qui vivum casus, age fare vicissim,

Attulerint: *pelagine venis erroribus actus?*

An monitu Divum? An quæ tu fortuna fatigat,

Ut tristes sine sole domos, loca turbida, adires.

Æn. vi. 531.

"Non ad inferos," says Servius, "sed ad locum in quo inferorum descensus est, i. e. ad Avernum, si intra terram sunt inferi." But if this were the meaning, the question would be quite absurd; as being shipwrecked on the coast of Italy, could imply no necessity of going to Hades. This was seen by Servius, who therefore adds—"Alii aliud intelligunt, qui sub terra esse inferos volunt secundum chorographos et geometras, qui dicunt terram *σφαιροειδῆ* esse, quæ aqua et aëre sustentatur; quod, si est, ad antipodes potest navigatione perveniri, quia,

<sup>1</sup> 'Ὡς θεοῖς μὲν τὰ ἀνατολικὰ δαίμοσι δὲ τὰ δυτικὰ. Porphyry. de Antro Nympharum, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. v.

<sup>3</sup> "In eo primam Mariandyni urbem habitant, ab Argivo (ut ferunt) Hercule datum. Heraclea vocitatur: id famæ fidem adjicit. Juxta specus est Acherusia, ad Manes (ut aiunt) pervius; atque inde extractum Cerberum existimant." Mela, lib. i. c. 20. "In ipsa Tanaro Neptuni templum, et specus, illi, quem in Ponto Acherusium diximus, facie et fabula similis." Mela, lib. ii. c. 4.

<sup>4</sup> 'Ἡ δὲ Τάρτησος πόλις Ἰβερικῇ περὶ τὸν Λοργὸν λίμνην. Schol. Aristoph. in Ran.

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quantum ad nos spectat, inferi sunt, sicut nos illis. Hinc est quare sub terra inferos dicimus esse, quamque illud sit, quia novem cingitur circulis. Tiberianus inducit epistolam vento allatam ab antipodibus, quod habet, 'Superi inferis salutem,' &c. He need not, however, have removed them quite so far, as the passage evidently refers to the situation of the Homeric Hades, and the notion is stolen from the question put to Ulysses in the *Odyssey* :

Τέκνον ἐμὸν, πῶς ἦλθες ὑπὸ Ζόφον ἡρόεντα,  
Ζῶς ἐών; χαλεπὸν δὲ τάδε ζωοῖσιν ὀρᾶσθαι·  
Μέσση γὰρ μεγάλοι ποταμοὶ καὶ δεινὰ ῥέεθρα,  
Ἵκεανὸς μὲν πρῶτα, τὸν οὕτως ἐστὶ περιῆσαι,  
Πεζὸν εἶντ', ἦν μὴ τις ἐχχὲ εὐεργέτα νῆα. *Od.* λ'. 154.

Where Eustathius observes, *ὅτι φανερώς ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ποιητὴς δηλοῖ τὴν Ὀδυσσεὺς μυθικὴν εἰς ἄδου κατέλευσιν ἐπὶ τὰ πέραν ἐκείθεν τέρματα γενέσθαι τοῦ Ὀκείανου, ἐνθα καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας δηλαδὴ φασὶν δύνειν.*

T. W.

## PHILOLOGICAL EXTRACTS

*From E. H. BARKER'S Letters on the Authorship of Junius' Letters.*

No. II.—[*Concluded from No. LXXV.*]

5. THE only other instance of the kind, which I have seen in the writings of Sir Philip, is that about the Elgin marbles and the statues of Phidias, in the Letter Missive to Lord Holland, 1816. pp. 61-73. and it is an admirable specimen of his talents for philosophical criticism:—

"In reading the Report of the select Committee, (of the House of Commons on the Elgin marbles,) one of their first propositions, including an historical assertion, seems to me a paradox, the truth of which however I am not bound or disposed to deny, viz. 'that the date of these works must be referred to the original building of the *Parthenon*, and to the designs of *Phidias*, the dawn of every thing which adorned and ennobled Greece.' From this position, compared with what we know of the architecture and statuary of Athens, it follows that the *first* productions of those arts were at once perfect, without previous defect or gradual improvement. The dawning light is in the meridian. Birth and maturity have but one date. This discovery is new in the natural history of man. In all other attainments of human skill, the arrival at perfection is by progression. Were there no temples or statues in Athens or in Greece, before *Phidias*? By whom, and when was the temple of Jupiter built at Olympia; or the temple of Theseus



at Athens? On questions of date it is in vain to look for accuracy in the Greek historians, nor is it always safe to rely on their veracity. On this point I speak with more moderation than I think. A peremptory language in matters of opinion, is always offensive and never in its place, but when it is called on to command. In me, who court instruction, because I want it, a tone of authority would be worse than unbecoming. *Græcia mendax* was proverbial among the Romans. Plutarch and others speak of the *Hecatompodon* and the *Parthenon*, as of one and the same building. Now it appears to me that either this must be a mistake, or the text is not correct, or it is a mere epithet carelessly used. The *Hecatompodon* was a square temple of a hundred feet, and if it were fifty feet high, would make half a cube. Mr. Wilkins says that the area embraced by the uppermost step of the *Parthenon*, is little more than two hundred and twenty-seven feet in length and one hundred and one in breadth. The former then must have been a moderate building compared to the latter. But Herodotus affirms that Xerxes burnt the citadel, and with it the temple of the Goddess, of which last he repented; and that the utter destruction of the whole city was completed by Mardonius. Yet Mr. Stuart says: 'The temple of Minerva in the Acropolis was called the *Parthenon* and *Hecatompodon*.' To me it is plain, that they were different temples, on the same site, with very different dimensions. The former was built about fifty years after the *Hecatompodon* was destroyed. Be all this as it may, I shall leave it to the learned to discover the meaning of Plutarch's words, and proceed to other questions in my mind of much greater interest and curiosity, concerning the two celebrated statues of Minerva and Jupiter, undoubtedly the works of Phidias, and placed by him in their respective temples at Athens and Olympia.<sup>2</sup> Here again we have a singular proof of the inaccuracy and carelessness of Grecian historians. Pausanias and all of them say that these two statues, one of which was fifty-four feet high, sitting, the other thirty-nine feet, standing, were positively made of ivory and gold. Of the latter Pausanias says: *Ἀπὸ δὲ ἐκ τε ἐλέφαντος τὸ θεῖον καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποιηται*, (p. 41.) Some of these careless writers, quoted by Meursius, describe the Minerva as made all of pure gold; others, as all of ivory, without a qualification, abatement, or explanation of any kind. Even Pliny, on this point, is full as inaccurate and obscure, as if he had never seen the two statues, or never considered or inquired what they were made of. He says, (lib. 34. cap. 8.) 'Phidias, præter Jovem Olympium, quem nemo æmulatur, fecit et ex ebore æque Minervam Athenis, quæ est in Parthenone adstans; which words, as long as words express meaning, affirm that both the statues were made of ivory. Now my conviction is, that every one of these writers, in the

<sup>1</sup> "After a long search, I cannot discover with certainty, by whom, or when the temple of Theseus was built. On the whole, however, it seems probable that it was erected by Cimon, or in his time, or about forty years before Pericles. I leave it to the learned to consider, whether that date of such a temple, with such a statuary, can be consistent with the assertion of the Committee."

<sup>2</sup> "Pausanias says that the temple of Jupiter at Olympia was built, but not when, by a native architect called Libo; that it was sixty-eight feet high, ninety-five feet wide, and two hundred and thirty feet long. He says that the god, sitting on a throne, was made of gold and ivory. (l. 5. p. 304-5-6.) The temple must have been built long before the Peloponnesian war!"

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literal and indisputable sense of their own language, asserts a gross, ridiculous falsehood. Such enormous statues neither were, nor could be made of gold or ivory, in their solidity, as they might have been of marble. A quantity of gold or ivory, or both, sufficient for the purpose, could not have been found in all Greece, much less in Attica; and, even if it had existed, Phidias and Pericles, and indeed the people of Athens and Elis must have been frantic to lavish and waste such precious materials on the inside of such statues. The fact is, they were hollow, and covered in *some* parts with *laminae*, or thin plates applied of ivory, in *others* of gold, which on occasion might be and actually were taken off. All the gold, furnished by Pericles to Phidias for the statue of Minerva, amounted only to forty-four talents of pure gold, equal to about 8,525*l.* in our standard. The intrinsic value of the Attic talent is by no means ascertained by comparison with any modern coin, much less is it a clear case among the learned. This quantity might be sufficient to cover as much of the statue as was not plated with ivory, but would go a very little way to fill it. The outside, so formed, was supported by an internal construction or machinery of brass and cedar-wood. As far as I have been able to trace this question, the first person who discovered the fallacy imposed on us by the Greek writers, and swallowed without hesitation or inquiry by the moderns, was M. de Pauw, a merciless inquisitor into literary frauds, and a fatal foe to learned impostors. The following extract from his *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Grecs* (Vol. ii. p. 112,) printed at Berlin in 1788, ought to excite the reader's curiosity. After proving to demonstration that the ivory and gold in question consisted of plates laid on, or *appliqués, par pièces rapportées, &c.* he says:—

“ ‘Pour communiquer à toutes ces pièces rapportées le degré de consistance dont elles avoient besoin, il faut que la *Minerve* de Phidias ait été intérieurement soutenue par un corps prodigieux de fer ou d'airain, revêtu dans sa principale longueur de lames de bois de cèdre, qui formoient l'ame de ce colosse, dont toute la capacité étoit vide; et *Lucien* avoue que ces ouvrages d'ostentation, si riches en apparence, et où l'on ne voyoit briller que l'or et l'ivoire, étoient intérieurement garnis de toiles d'araignées, et servoient l'asyle aux insectes et aux animaux immondes, qui fréquentoient les temples et les autels de la Grèce.’ ”

“ *Lucian's* words, to which M. Pauw refers, are: ‘The richest of these statues were covered with ivory, and here and there, (*δαίρον δόνον*,) glittered with gold. Withinside they were supported by frames of wood, (*στρέβυλοι*,) in which whole troops of mice took shelter, and formed their common wealth.’ (*ἀγέλαι μύων*,)’ ”

“ It seems to me remarkable that it is *not* stated by Pausanias or Pliny that the statue of Victory, of four cubits high, (therefore not a *Victoriosa*,) stood, or was placed standing, on the extended right-hand of Minerva, which must include the arm, or there would be no extension. But Epictetus<sup>2</sup> does say so distinctly. Now if the *Victory* were solid of any metal, it must weigh down the arm, or break it, unless the inside of the limb were of brass, and that too attached to a metallic frame supporting the statue.

“ Supposing this state of the case, as far as relates to the outward appearance and internal machinery of the statues to be indisputable, a

<sup>1</sup> In the *Jupiter Tragedy*.

<sup>2</sup> *Lib. ii. cap. 8.*

question remains, which he, who can answer it in plain intelligible language, and not in terms of art, must have much more skill and sagacity than I can pretend to. My own superannuated thoughts have been wasted on it in vain. The figures of the god and goddess must have been composed and formed on a covered frame of some kind or other, and that frame supported throughout by internal bars of brass or wood. I ask what was the composition of that frame, and of the figures or shapes which were supported by it; and how, or by what medium or contact they were supported by the inside machinery? To me it appears that the forms, at least, of the statues must have been finished, before the *laminae* of gold and ivory could be applied to those forms by way of ornament or dress. Here I shall conclude this part of my meditations, with one note of admiration more to the statues. Is it possible, or is it conceivable, that Pausanias, Plutarch, and Pliny, should not have known the internal construction of these colossal statues, or that they should have believed or imagined that they were literally made of solid gold and ivory! On the subject of these wonderful works of art, there remains still one consideration, worthy of your taste and genius, and then you shall be at liberty, *portè mittere eburnâ*.

"The enormous disproportion of the size of these statues to the temples, which held them, must have been obvious to every eye. Nay, I should think, it must have been the *first* impression made on the spectator, the moment he entered the temple. Yet, if my utmost researches have not failed or misled me, it is certainly true that no ancient writer has taken notice, or, if at all, very slightly, of this manifest and striking disproportion, except Strabo, much less to account for it. The geographer says only that 'the greatest of all was the ivory statue of Jupiter, (*Διόπαρτος ἑβανός*), made by *Phidias*, of such a magnitude that, although the temple was of the greatest size, the artist seemed to have missed the mark, or failed, of symmetry (*between the statue and the temple*). He made the statue sitting, yet almost touching the roof with the summit of its head, giving an impression on the eye, that if the god were to rise and stand upright, he must unroof the temple.' In this place it is natural to ask a question, which, as far as my little learning reaches, has never been answered, Why, of all the single statues of the heathen celestial gods, the Jupiter alone is represented *sitting*? Because he was their supreme divinity. The others, even the Minerva, or Goddess of Wisdom, were his ministers or agents, and, as his inferiors, *stood* in his presence, whenever they were personified. He alone is not in action. His power is in repose, serene and majestic, and executes his pleasure, not by motion or command, but by pure volition.

"Is it to be believed that *Phidias* was not aware of a palpable violation of the laws of symmetry between his own work and the case which contained it? or that, seeing the fact, he should not have intended it? or that, with that intention, he should have had no rational purpose to be answered by it? *I'll not believe it*. The dimensions of so great an artist are not to be measured by the mere visual faculty of vulgar eyes. The altitude of such a being must be taken with a quadrant. First, undoubtedly he meant to magnify his statue at the expense of the temple; and, so meaning, the disproportion he resorted to, could not fail of its effect. So far a common caviller might accuse him of vanity. A critic of a higher order might content himself

with subscribing to the accurate and enlightened conclusion of Quintilian, who illustrates the statue of Jupiter by its moral impression : 'Cujus pulchritudo adjecisse aliquid etiam receptæ religioni videtur ; adeo majestas operis deum æquavit.'

"Was that all? Had he no theory, of a more elevated ascent, in contemplation? Yes; I swear by the genius of Phidias himself, he had another purpose worthy of him, which he has left it to the statue to denounce. THE DEITY I REPRESENT, FILLS HIS OWN TEMPLE, AND LEAVES NO ROOM FOR ANY OTHER GOD."—*Extract from Sir Philip Francis' Letter Missive to Lord Holland.*

I consulted my intelligent and esteemed friend, the Rev. T. S. Hughes, B.D., on the subject, and he favored me with the following observations in his reply :

"With respect to the work in *toto*, it appears to me very like the effort of a man who did *not* write Junius, but wished it to be thought he *did*. It is clever, and has many pointed passages, but not the raciness of Junius's style. With regard to that part, to which you have particularly drawn my attention, I should say that the remarks of Sir Philip are in general very just and true. Those concerning the gold and ivory statues agree in the main with the great and splendid work of Quatre-Mere de Quincy on the Chryselephantine Statuary. With regard to the *Hecatompedon* (p. 64.) he is right—it was the old temple burnt and destroyed by the Persians, and a vast many of the stones which composed it, especially those of the pillars, are at this day to be seen, (according to the conjectures of able antiquaries,) worked up in the walls of the Acropolis. As for Stuart, though a fine architect, he was not a very accurate scholar. Sir Philip is wrong, when he says that only the statues of Jupiter were ever represented in a sitting posture : take the following instance of the contrary from Pausanias, (Corinth. 217.) Τὸ δὲ ἔργον τῆς Ἡρας ἐπὶ ὁρόνῳ κάθηται μέγα, χρυσοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἔργον. His remark in capitals at the bottom of p. 72. seems to me a very happy one. In the words of Sir Philip, *vive et vale*."—*Appendicula. II.*

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## BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

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IN a work which the writer of this article has lately published, he has attempted to prove that in the Revelation of St. John the symbolical personage designated the Dragon, the old serpent called the Devil and Satan, is paganism. It is stated, as a canon for the interpretation of Scripture prophecy, "that every symbol should be considered as having the same import wherever it occurs;" and as commentators have generally been of opinion that Christianity conflicting with Paganism is indicated in the twelfth chapter of the Revelation by the war in heaven between Michael and his angels, and the Dragon and his angels ; it is contended that the Dragon introduced again in the twen-

tieth chapter, and described in precisely the same terms, must also be Paganism; and that paganism, at the commencement of the ninth century, was confined to a symbolical abyss by Charlemagne, king of France.

In accordance with this interpretation, the following translations and criticisms are submitted to the consideration of the reader. The Greek<sup>1</sup> of the fourth verse in the twentieth chapter may be literally rendered thus:—

“I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and I saw the souls of those that had been beheaded for the testimony of Jesus, and for the word of God; and whoever worshipped not the beast, nor his image, and took not the mark on their forehead or on their hand, and lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.”

The following is a free translation: “And in the space of the thousand years, I saw thrones, and those who sat on them, to whom judgment was given; and I saw the souls of those that had been beheaded for the testimony of Jesus, and for the word of God; and I saw those who worshipped not the beast, nor his image, and who received not his mark on their foreheads, or on their hands; and I saw those who lived and reigned with Christ.”

The original Greek of this passage has had a singular fortune under the hands of translators. After the word ψυχὰς, souls, there is a participle in the perfect or pluperfect tense which is followed by four verbs, all aorists. The participle is in our common version rendered by a verb in the imperfect tense, which ought to have been in the pluperfect; and of the verbs, the two former have been converted into the pluperfect, and the two latter have been left in the imperfect tense: but still worse than all this, the grammatical construction or government has been completely changed. I will not assert that the translators have done this capriciously, arbitrarily, or at random; but I am disposed to think that if their minds had not been pre-occupied by a Jewish tradition, they would not have rendered the passage in the manner they have. Here seems to me to be a striking proof of the justness and importance of some observations of Dr. Chalmers, on the supreme authority of revelation. “What is the reason,” he asks, “why there is so much more unanimity among critics and grammarians about the sense of any ancient author than about the sense of the New Testament? Because the one is made purely a

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ εἶδον θρόνους, καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς, καὶ κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς· καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πεπελεκισμένων διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ οἵτινες οὐ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θηρίῳ ὅτε τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔλαβον τὸ χάραγμα ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔζησαν καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν μετὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ χίλια ἔτη. Rev. xx. 4.

question of criticism; the other has been complicated with the uncertain fancies of a daring and presumptuous theology. Could we only dismiss these fancies, sit down like a school-boy to his task, and look on the study of divinity as a mere work of translation, then we might expect the same unanimity among Christians that we meet with among scholars and literati about the system of Epicurus or philosophy of Aristotle.—Let the principle of ‘what thinkest thou’ be exploded, and that of ‘what readest thou’ be substituted in its place. Let us take our lesson as the Almighty places it before us, and, instead of being the judge of his conduct, be satisfied with the safer and humbler office of being the interpreter of his language.”<sup>1</sup>

The whole series of particulars detailed in the verse under consideration must be viewed as occupying this scene of the apostle’s vision: a prospect opens before him which stretches away to a vast but not an immeasurable distance; he looks through a long vista of a thousand years. And after the dragon had been expelled from the figurative heaven, and after he had cast water out of his mouth like a flood, and after he had been confined to the abyss, what did our New Testament prophet see? “I saw thrones,” says he, “and those that sat on them;” thrones erected in Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Germany, where there had been only one throne before; and the occupants invested with sovereignty to order at their pleasure the affairs of the nations which they governed. He also saw the souls of those who had been previously put to death for the cause of Christianity, according to the cruel edicts of pagan emperors. He then saw those who worshipped not the beast, and were suffering under papal persecution, as confessors and martyrs in defence of the pure, unadulterated religion of Jesus: Waldenses and Albigenses in France and Italy; Lollards and Wickliffites in Germany and England; and Hussites in Bohemia. He next saw those who lived and reigned with Christ—the reformers, Luther, Calvin, and Melancthon, with their holy and blessed phalanx of combatants against the forces of the man of sin, who enjoyed the presence and approbation of their Redeemer, who were patronized by him, who were elevated to seats of authority, who were enabled successfully to encounter their adversaries mustered in great numbers and bent on their destruction, and who ultimately triumphed over all the principalities and powers of Rome. I know not whether it is necessary for me to say, that the events predicted by the spirit of prophecy were generally made to pass in review before the eyes of the prophets one after another, and that

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<sup>1</sup> Evid. and Auth. of the Christ. Rev. p. 241. 244.

the scenic representation was finished in a few days or a few hours, or perhaps in a less space; but that those events, when realized in the course of Providence, were destined to be spread over a long period of time; in some instances more than a thousand, and in others more than two thousand years. "I saw," or as it is in the Chaldee,<sup>1</sup> I was looking "in my vision by night, and behold the four winds of heaven strove upon the great sea; and four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another. The first was like a lion, and had an eagle's wings: I was looking till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made to stand upon its feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it. And behold another beast, a second, like to a bear; and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh. After this I was looking, and lo, another, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl: the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it. After this I was looking in the night visions, and behold, a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly, and it had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns. I was considering the horns, and behold there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots, and behold in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things. I was looking till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit."<sup>2</sup> Now from the manner of expression at the commencement of this paragraph, it would appear that the prophet had this vision in a single night; but the objects and events detailed in the account of the vision, according to almost every interpretation, extend beyond the space of two thousand years.

Our common translation, and indeed every translation which I have seen, envelops with obscurity the verse which has occasioned the foregoing observations, by failing to mark distinctly the series or succession of objects presented to the apostle's view as it respects time. And there is another cause of obscurity: it is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the meaning which the translators intended to convey relative to the principal objects of the vision, whether their version has a reference to souls or persons, or to both; and if to both, what should be restricted to the one and what to the other.

<sup>1</sup> חזה חזית וארר

<sup>2</sup> Dan. vii. 2—9.

But I foresee a formidable objection to my hypothesis. It will be said that the period of a thousand years, or the millennium, comprises not the whole series of particulars detailed in the passage under review, but should be considered as relating only to the last clause, and specifying the duration of the spiritual or personal reign of Christ on earth. To remove this objection I may observe, that persons or things enumerated in a sentence, and conjoined together, form a plurality: John and William and James are the Christian names of three of my sons; but the term "Christian names" cannot be predicated of John individually, or of William individually, or of James individually; it is only true of them collectively: Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter, are the four seasons of the year; but the substantive, seasons, cannot be predicated of spring separately, or of summer separately, or of autumn separately, or of winter separately; it is only applicable to them when taken together. The same observation is transferable to time. The apostle Paul states, that "God gave unto the people of Israel judges, about the space of four hundred and fifty years."<sup>1</sup> Not two or three judges for the whole period, nor two or three at one time followed by others in succession; but those magistrates were raised up one after another, and but one at a time sustained the office of judge. Othniel judged Israel forty years; Tola was judge twenty-two years; Jephtha six years; and Eli forty; and others were supreme magistrates of Israel for different periods. To none of these singly can the space of time mentioned by the apostle be applied, but to the sum of the periods during which they respectively governed, till the time of the prophet Samuel. The same inspired writer says, quoting from the Psalms, "Harden not your hearts as in the provocation, in the day of temptation in the wilderness, *when*<sup>2</sup> your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my works forty years." Here a series of things both expressed and implied has a space of time assigned for dura-

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<sup>1</sup> Acts xiii. 20.

<sup>2</sup> On this adverb, Dr. Macknight has the following observation:—"Where your fathers tempted me. This, which is the Syriac and the Vulgate translation, is more just than our English version, 'When your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my works forty years.' For the word 'when' implies, that at the time of the bitter provocation the Israelites had seen God's works forty years: contrary to the history which sheweth, that the bitter provocation happened in the beginning of the third year from the Exodus. Whereas the translation in the Vulgate, agreeably to the matter of fact, represents God as saying, by David, that the Israelites tempted God in the wilderness during forty years, notwithstanding all that time they had seen God's miracles."—Apost. Epist. Note on Heb. iii. 8.



tion. The Israelites tempted God in the wilderness of sin, when they murmured for bread, and they proved him when he furnished them with manna. They tempted him at Rephidim, afterwards called Massah, where they murmured for water, and said, Is the Lord among us or not? And they proved him when he made water to issue from the rock in Horeb to remove their thirst. At Sinai they provoked God by making a golden calf, and worshipping the work of their own hands. At another place they tempted him by demanding flesh to eat, and they proved him when he sent quails to gratify their sensual appetites. In these and in a variety of other instances they tempted God, proved him, and saw his works forty years. The supply of manna and of water was indeed uninterruptedly continued, but in the other things there was a succession; and the sum of the series amounts to forty years. The words of the apostle may be arranged and translated in the same manner, as it has been proposed to render the verse which has been subjected to a critical examination: "Harden not your hearts as in the provocation, in the day of temptation in the wilderness; *where*, through the space of forty years, your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my works."

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Idle, near Bradford,

Dec. 1828.

## CORRUPTION OF DEMIURGUS.

IN the ancient Scholia on the Thebaid of Statius, which by some are ascribed to Lutatius, or Luctatius Placidus, or, as he is called by others, Placidus Lactantius, there is a passage in which it is asserted that the highest god, of whom Statius speaks in the 4th book, is called *Demogorgon*. But the lines in Statius where this occurs are as follow:

"Scimus enim et quidquid dici, nosoque timetis,  
Et turbare Hecaten, ni te, Thymbræe, vereretur:  
*Et triplicis mundi summum, quem scire nefastum est:*  
Illum sed taceo."—Lib. iv. v. 514, &c.

"Dicit [Statius] Deum Demogorgona summum," says the scholiast. On this, however, Gale in his notes on the fifth section of Iamblichus de Mysteriis, rightly observes, "Cæterum Lactantii illum locum, a multis tentatum, libet hic in melius, ut spero, restituere.—Quis sit iste Demogorgon, vel, ut alii scribunt inepte, Dæmogorgon? Wierus de Præst. Dæmonum inter Magos infames commemorat Dæmogorgona (aliis Damigeronta. Scholiastes Ms.) Adno-

tat ad Lucani VI. nescio quis scholiastes, "ipse Dæmogorgon omni Gorgone quam exteri timent superior." Atqui nomen hoc nusquam alibi extat, præterquam in hoc Lactantii loco corrupto. Lego igitur Demiurgum. "Cujus nomen (inquit Lactantius) scire non potest." Enimvero si nomen sit Dæmogorgon, jam illud scimus. Porro paucis infra Lactantius docet, se tradere ea, quæ scribit de Deo isto, ex Pythagora, Platone, et Tagete. Jam Demiurgus apud Platonem in *Timæo* *ακατονομαστος*."

Prior, however, to Gale, Farnaby appears to have conjectured that Dæmogorgon is the Demiurgus. For in his note on the lines in the sixth book of Lucan's *Pharsalia*,—

"Paretis? an ille  
Compellendus erit, quo nunquam terra vocato  
Non concussa fremit,"—

he observes: "Dæmogorgon Deorum princeps, sive Demiurgus ille sit (Platonis) Deus summus, omnium rerum creator, cujus nomen arcanum et ineffabile inter cætera Deorum nomina citare nefas, nisi summa urgente necessitate." But that Farnaby's Lucan was prior to the Iamblichus of Gale is evident. For the first edition of the former, as we learn from Fabricius, was Loud. 1618, 8vo. and the second edition, Francf. 1624, 8vo.; but of Gale's Iamblichus there is only one *edition*, and that was published at Oxford, 1678, fol. It is singular, therefore, that Gale should claim the merit of a discovery which Farnaby prior to him had made; and the singularity is greatly increased when we consider that Gale, being a scholar and a schoolmaster, ought not to have been ignorant of the contents of Farnaby's Lucan.

Gale, too, in asserting that the Demiurgus according to Plato in the *Timæus* is *ακατονομαστος*, i. e. *nameless*, is egregiously mistaken. For Plato says of this divinity in the *Timæus*: *τον μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντός εὖρεῖν τε ἔργον, καὶ εὐροντα, εἰς ἀπαντὰς ἀδύνατον λέγειν*: i. e. "It is therefore difficult to discover the maker and father of this universe, and, when found, it is impossible to speak of him to *all* men." But the Demiurgus or Jupiter, both according to the Chaldean and Grecian theology, is not the highest god; since he subsists at the extremity of the intellectual triad of gods, which consists of Saturn, Rhea, and Jupiter.<sup>1</sup> Hence he is not *perfectly ineffable*. Of the great first principle, however, of all things, or *the one*, Plato says in the *Parmenides*: *Οὐδ' ἀρα ὄνομα ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ λόγος, οὐδὲ τις ἐπιστήμη, οὐδὲ αἰσθησις, οὐδὲ δοξα. Οὐ φαίνεται. Οὐδ' ὀνομαζέται ἀρα, οὐδὲ λέγεται, οὐδὲ δοξάζεται, οὐδὲ γιγνώσκεται, οὐδὲ τι τῶν ὄντων αὐτοῦ αἰσθάνεται. Οὐκ εἰκεν*: i. e. "Neither therefore does any name pertain to it, nor

<sup>1</sup> See this copiously and beautifully unfolded by Proclus in *Plat. Theol. lib. v.* And in the same book, p. 308. see also the above passage from the *Timæus* most satisfactorily explained.

discourse, nor any science, nor sense, nor opinion. It does not appear that there can. Hence, *it can neither be named nor spoken of*, nor conceived by opinion, nor be known, nor perceived by any being. So it seems."

To these two causes, viz. the *Demiurgus* and the ineffable principle of all things, Plato likewise alludes as follows, in his sixth Epistle: *Και τον των παντων Θεον ηγεμονα των τε οντων και των μελλοντων, του τε ηγεμονος και αιτιου πατερα κυριον επομυνντας ον αν οντως φιλοσοφωμεν εισομεθα παντες σαφως εις δυναμιν ανθρωπων ευδαιμονων*: i. e. "And swearing by that God who is the leader of all things present and future, and by the father and lord of this leader and cause, whom we shall all of us, if we truly philosophise, clearly know, as far as this is possible to be effected by felicitous men." This likewise is corroborated by the following very remarkable passage from the works of Ficinus: "In Epistola ad Syracusanos inquit Plato, *Mundi quinetiam architectum verbis exprimi vulgo non posse, testis est is meus, multo minus architecti patrem*."¹ Ficin. Op. tom. ii. p. 1189.

I only add, that Milton, notwithstanding his great learning, appears to have had no conception that the word *Demogorgon* is a corruption of *Demiurgus*: for in the second book of his *Paradise Lost*, v. 965, he says,

———— "and by them stood  
Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name  
Of Demogorgon."

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## ON THE WRITINGS OF AUSONIUS.

FROM the era of the civil wars to the reign of Trajan, the series of extant Latin poets, though unequally divided among the different periods, continues tolerably uninterrupted. Lucretius, Catullus,—the Augustan constellation, Phædrus, Lucan, Persius, and Seneca,—and last, and not least in number or excellence, the third great cluster of wits who illustrated the reigns of Domitian and Trajan—carry on, though not all in metal of the same purity or brightness, the chain of which Father Ennius was the commencing link. At this latter point, however, a great and remarkable chasm ensues. From the times of Trajan to those of Theodosius, a space of two hundred years, with the exception of the eclogues of Calpurnius, one or two indifferent ecclesiastical poets, and perhaps

¹ Where Ficinus found this passage I know not; for it is not in any of the Epistles of Plato that are now extant.

a few fragments, no relics of Roman poetry exist; and had the writings of Ausonius and Claudian likewise perished, (for Sidonius and his compeers are scarcely worth mentioning in this view, and the religious poets cannot well be considered as belonging to the old stock,) the line of *classical* Latin poets would have terminated with Juvenal, Martial, and Statius.

Of this literary phenomenon we shall not attempt the solution. How much is to be attributed to the usual ravages of time, how much to the wilful destruction of manuscripts, and how much to the inferior merit of the poets themselves, their transient popularity, or the diminished cultivation of the art, we leave it to others to inquire. It is more to our present purpose to observe, that, although the stamina of Roman poetry remained the same, the lapse of so many ages must have effected an important change in its accidents, in its forms, in its language, in the feelings which were its animating spirit, and in the subjects on which it was employed. True it is, that the effect was not more than proportionate to the cause; on the contrary, when all circumstances are considered, it is rather remarkable that so much of the original features of the muse of Latium remains discernible. This is more the case with Claudian than with Ausonius; for Claudian, whether owing to his own better judgment, or to the happy accident of his being born in a Grecian city, which emancipated him in a great measure from the influence of vernacular corruptions, as well as from other causes of deterioration, appears to have modelled himself, as far as was practicable, on the writers of a more fortunate era. He has certainly imbibed no small portion of their style and spirit; so much so, that though it would be going too far to class him unreservedly with the poets of the silver age, the affinity between them is very considerable; as they who are familiar at the same time with his writings, and with the *Sylvæ* and *Thebaid* of Statius, will at once acknowledge. Still, however, the transforming effects of time itself, the changes in manners and institutions, the gradual amalgamation of the conquered races with the conquerors, the introduction of a new religion, rooting up so many old national affections and substituting others in their stead; these and other co-operating causes cannot but have left a deep and visible impress on the Roman mind, and consequently on the Roman literature; and in passing, as in the present instance we are compelled to do, immediately from the authors of the one age to those of the other, we naturally expect to find alterations somewhat similar to those which take place in the features and disposition of an old acquaintance revisited by us after an absence of many years. Of this new character, as exhibited in the poetry of the nation, (for with the still greater revolutions in prose we have nothing to do,) Ausonius may be taken as the representative; both because in him it is more fully marked than in his contem-

perary,<sup>1</sup> and because, from the greater variety of his works, and the lighter subjects on which his talent is, in a great measure, employed, it has in him developed itself more minutely. To those, therefore, whose intimacy with the youth and manhood of Latin poetry is such as to make them feel an interest in the productions of its declining years, the works of Ausonius will be no unpleasing study. Of his personal merits and defects we shall shortly have to speak.

Of the life and fortunes of Ausonius (more fortunate in this respect than many greater men) copious information remains; owing partly, indeed, to his own communicativeness, and the personal nature of many of his writings. Decimus Magnus Ausonius was the son of Julius Ausonius, a physician of Bourdeaux, eminent alike for his professional skill and his private worth, concerning whom his son, in the first of the *Parentalia*, thus delivers the opinion of his surviving contemporaries :

Ut nullum Ausonius, quem sectaretur, habebat;  
Sic nullum, qui se nunc imitetur, habet.

His mother, *Æmilia Æonia*, was descended from the ancient nobility of the *Sequani*. It was at the same city of Bourdeaux, then flourishing in arts and civilisation, and of which he may be considered as the oldest recorded worthy, that our poet was born. Having received an excellent education under the care of a learned relative, he began life as a schoolmaster; in which capacity he shortly rose to such eminence, that he attained to the rhetorical chair of Bourdeaux, one of those public professorships which, in imitation of Alexandria, had long been established in the principal cities of the empire. His fame still spreading, he was invited<sup>1</sup> to Rome by the then emperor, *Valentinian the First*, who appointed him tutor to his son *Gratian*. By both these princes he was held in high regard. He accompanied *Valentinian* on several of his military expeditions; and on the accession of *Gratian* to the throne, was elevated successively to the prefectures of *Illyricum* and of *Gaul*, and finally (A.D. 374) to the consulship; which even in those days (see *Claudian de Consulatu Stilichonis*) was looked up to as one of the highest of human distinctions. Of his wife, *Ottusia Lucana*, from whom he was separated by death after a brief union, and for whose sake he continued a widower during the remainder of a long life, he has himself spoken in some touching verses. On the death of *Gratian*, though favored by

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<sup>1</sup> We use this term with some latitude, inasmuch as, strictly speaking, the termination of Ausonius's literary career nearly coincided with the beginning of Claudian's. Considered, however, with regard to the place they occupy in the history of ancient poetry, and the state of literature which they indicate, they may be considered as contemporaries.

his successor Theodosius, he withdrew from public life, and retired to pass an old age of honorable tranquillity in his native city, where he died, towards the end of that century of which he was the most distinguished poet. Many other particulars respecting him may be found in his own works (especially the *Parentalia*), and in the various lives subjoined to the *Variorum* edition of his works. His character and opinions may be collected pretty accurately from his writings. Whether he was a Christian, has been questioned; but the important office which he held in the palace of Valentinian, together with some unequivocal indications in his poems, prove that he was a believer, although, perhaps, the tenets of Christianity may not have struck their roots very deeply in his affections. His morality, in general, is not much above the average morality of his heathen predecessors; the virtues he extols are the staple virtues of old Rome; and some of his epigrams approach the worst of Martial's in grossness. But it were unjust, and (if we may so express ourselves) almost unkind, to dwell on the dark side of a character which offers to our view so much that is amiable. His love of the country and its simplicity, his fondness for his native place, the affection with which he dwells on the memories of his kindred, his early friends, and his teachers, seem to indicate a gentleness and a benevolence of mind worthy of being associated with yet higher attributes. His letters to Paullinus, and a reply of the latter, (sometimes subjoined to the poems of Ausonius,) are beautiful pictures; the one of wounded yet not exacerbated affection, the other of an attachment almost filial, tempered by firm religious principle.

His poems are almost all short, and of various kinds; epigrams, epistles, occasional pieces, *jeux d'esprit*, translations from the Greek, &c. Nothing is more remarkable than their extreme inequality in point of merit; the line of Martial,

*"Sunt mala, sunt quædam mediocria, sunt mala plura,"*

may be applied with a variation to Ausonius: a few things are excellent, many good, and many downright bad. This countenances a conjecture which we have seen somewhere made, that the present collection consists in great part of the mere sweepings of his study, gathered together and published after his death. For it is observable that the faults of the pieces in question consist not so much in their execution, as in their impracticable subjects; they being, for the most part, tricks of metrical *leger-de-main*, or mere exercises of the pen, or whimsies, such as a man of talent might compose for the amusement of a private circle, but which no man of sense, still less one who could write as Ausonius has often done, would think of publishing. Even in these, it is true, his better qualities, terseness, elegance, and ingenuity, cannot help sometimes betraying themselves; but the graces of his manner serve only to render more conspicuous the flatness and absurdity

of his matter. But when the deadening weight of a dull subject, or the consciousness that he is writing "to order," are removed, and his fancy and his feelings are allowed their natural and genial play, he displays powers which, in a better age, would have raised him to a higher rank among poets than he now holds. Inequality, indeed, is far more the characteristic of Roman than of Grecian poets: were it worth while, the phenomenon might perhaps be explained from the nature and origin of either literature: but of all the Roman poets, Ovid and Lucan excepted, we know of none in whom it is so remarkable as Ausonius. He has failed often, and greatly; but he has also succeeded often, and in many kinds of composition. Indeed, if any one quality is to be specified as distinguishing him from his compeers, it is facility, or the power of doing many things well; all things, indeed, which require nothing more than grace, and some things which do. Unlike the many who grow stiff and feeble when removed from their peculiar province, he assumes with almost equal ease the person of the moral teacher, the epigrammatist, the painter of nature, and the poet of the friendly and domestic affections. Besides this general pliancy of talent, he possesses a certain mild pathos, not unallied to that which, like a beautiful vein, intersects the more ambitious parts of Virgil, and which is the chief attraction of the *Sylvæ* of Statius; but accompanied with, perhaps, a more minute analysis of the feelings to which it relates. To this we may add a power of satirical writing not altogether contemptible, though displaying itself but occasionally. His power over the Latin language, such as it was in his time, is very considerable: he is copious, idiomatic, flowing, frequently energetic, and very little of a copyist; and if he participates in the corruptions of his age, he certainly has no more than his share. Allowing, indeed, for these corruptions, both as regards manner and matter, he may be considered as the last heir of the lighter *veneres* of the Latin language. His successor struck into a different path. His calling was to illustrate the public events of a most momentous age: barbarian invasions, the rise and fall of statesmen, wars and treaties, involving in their results the fate of the civilised world; the deliverance of the western empire from famine by the overthrow of the tyrant Gildo, or of the eastern from ruin by the assassination of Rufinus, or the final overthrow of the tremendous Alaric on the mighty field of Pollentia. His subjects, therefore, naturally directed him to epic models; and in him, accordingly, we expect and find the more imposing qualities of the Latin poetical language, as modelled by Virgil and his more especial followers—its majesty, its ornament, and its balanced harmony; and when, as in the marriage of Honorius and some of his shorter pieces, his subject is such as to require a different style, he usually fails for want of flexibility. Ausonius, on the contrary, had studied and

successfully ingrafted on his own manner the elegancies of Horace and Tibullus, of Ovid and Martial; and the graces of language which are common to these, and which form in a great measure the peculiar character of the language, shine out again with diminished lustre in Ausonius, previously to their final extinction. It is the same voice of the Roman muse which we hear, enfeebled indeed by time and misfortunes, but still distinctly recognisable.

Among the poetical remains of Ausonius a few prose pieces are interspersed, the principal of which is a panegyric on his pupil and benefactor the Emperor Gratian. Of Ausonius's prose little need be said: it is easy and clear, as pure in its Latinity as the age would allow; and betraying, in its ample sweep and its florid and figurative diction, the poetical habits of the writer. Besides the pieces in prose and verse which are still extant, Ausonius composed a Roman Chronology, extending from the foundation of the city to his own times; with one or two other works of no great importance.

The volume opens with a collection of epigrams, 146 in number, on all manner of subjects, political, moral, satirical, amatory, &c. Several of them are translations from the Greek; a favorite practice with Ausonius, as was also the sportive intermixture of Greek with Latin in the same poems, and even in the same line. Like most of the epigrams of the later poets, they are cast chiefly in the mould of Martial. In this, as in most other points, Catullus stands alone among his countrymen. He was by nature a Greek poet, as much as Julius Cæsar was a Greek statesman: the colors with which he wrought his poetical pictures were too airy and subtle for the material apprehensions of his countrymen; and his example, splendid as it was, produced no permanent effect. The Latin epigram, in his hands, is a thing of a different kind from what it afterwards became. We are not of the mind of that critic, who annually sacrificed a copy of Martial to the manes of Catullus. Our creed is more comprehensive. Martial, is, indeed, incomparably inferior to Catullus; but it is an inferiority not of degree, but of kind; and we know not why two excellent things of different kinds should not exist amicably together. In his own way, Martial is almost perfect. He brought the Latin epigram to its popular and established shape; and as an epigrammatist he remains unrivalled, not only in his own language, but, to the best of our knowledge, in all the languages in which his model has been followed. Here, as in his other attempts, the success of Ausonius is very unequal. The every-day deeds of ordinary emperors and great men are, indeed, things heavy enough to break the back even of a vigorous Pegasus; but Ausonius frequently fails where there are no official trammels to impede him; he throws away a great deal of serviceable dexterity in punning on unlucky proper names, or twisting a moral sentence fifty ways. Where this is not



the case, however, we know no one, excepting always his great predecessor, who has turned the Latin epigram more successfully, either in point of satirical power, or as regards that terseness, that happy adaptation of the matter of the epigram to its framework, that freedom from botches in short, which in modern epigrams (English at least) seems almost unattainable. We have already alluded to the grossness of many of these pieces; it is but justice however to add, that they are in general reproofs of prevailing vices, rather than wilful indulgences in impurity. We shall quote two of these pieces as fair specimens.

Epig. LXXV. *In Eunomum medicum :*

Languentem Caium moriturum dixerat olim  
Eunomus : evasit fati ope, non medici.  
Paullo post ipsum videt, aut vidisse putavit,  
Pallentem, et multa mortis in effigie.  
Quis tu ? Caius, ait. Vivisne ? Hic abnuvit. At quid  
Nunc agis hic ? Jussu Ditis, ait, venio ;  
Ut, quia notitiam Divûmque hominumque tenemus,  
Accirem medicos. Eunomus obriguit.  
Tum Caius : Metuas nihil, Eunome ; dixi ego et omnes,  
Nullum, qui saperet, dicere te medicum.

Epig. CIV. *In duas sorores diversorum morum :*

Delia, vos miramur, et est mirabile, quod tam  
Dissimiles estis, tuque sororque tua.  
Hæc habitu casto, cum non sit, casta videtur ;  
Tu, præter cultum, nil meretricis habes.  
Cum casti mores tibi sint, huic cultus honestus ;  
Te tamen et cultus damnat, et actus eam.

Passing over the "Ephemeris," a somewhat coxcomical account of the author's mode of spending the day, but which contains some things worth preserving, we come to the "Parentalia," a series of tributes to the memory of those of his family and kindred who had died before him ; not however in detail, like the poems on similar subjects in the *Sylvæ* of Statius, but more in the nature of a *catalogue raisonné* of the qualities and fortunes of the individuals ; somewhat between an elegy and an inscription. The design is pleasing and amiable ; and in the execution there is some variety, as well as some pathos. But the especial interest of these compositions is, that they serve to remind us of our fellowship with human nature in all circumstances and under all disguises. They show us (what in reading ordinary historians, such as Gibbon, we are apt to forget) that even in a corrupt age, and under the pressure of great public misfortunes, there were other things in existence besides corruption and calamity ; that filial and fraternal love, and the attachment to home, and the feeling of family honor, and private virtues, had still room wherein to unfold themselves and flourish. Like visits to some distant and little-explored country, against whose people we had conceived a somewhat excessive

prejudice, such intimations are at once enlightening and consoling. These pieces are followed by a similar series, entitled "*Professores Burdigalenses*," in which the lives, characters, and attainments of the professors, who in the time of Ausonius filled the several chairs of public instruction at Bourdeaux, are successively commemorated. They possess no great merit in themselves, but are valuable for the light they throw on the state of literature and of education in that country and age. Of the poems, or rather bundles of verses which immediately succeed, little need be said; they are at best nothing but ingenious trifles, possessing in some instances considerable interest for the antiquary, but none for the poetical reader: such are the "*Epitaphia Heroum*," from the Greek; the "*Tetrasticha de Cæsariibus*," a series of well-turned epigrams, illustrating in the way of *Memoria Technica* the reigns of the respective Cæsars; the "*Ordo Nobilium Urbium*," a description of the great cities of the earth and their glory, beginning with Rome and ending with his native city of Bourdeaux; the "*Ludus Septem Sapientum*," &c.

But the "*Idyllia*," or *Miscellanies*, cannot be passed over so lightly. Several of them indeed, as the "*Versus monosyllabis cœpti et finiti*," and that whimsical Southeian outpouring of erudition the "*Griphus Ternarius*," belong to the same class as the above-mentioned; but the Horatian "*Villula*," the "*Rosæ*," the "*Cupido cruci affixus*," and above all the "*Mosella*," are among the happiest of Ausonius's productions. This last, the longest of all his poems, is dedicated to the praises of his favorite river. The beauty of the stream itself, the neighboring scenery, and all the many topics of interest connected with it, are dwelt on with that warmth of home affections which is the finest feature in Ausonius's writings, with a luxuriant richness of painting, and in animated and flowing diction. It is remarkable that in this piece, and in one or two passages of his other poems, Ausonius seems to have forestalled the modern style of poetical description, in which the object described is dwelt on, and its minutest features set down, as things important in themselves, not merely as accessory to human action, or as influencing human passion, or colored by it. Take for instance the following lines:

Glaucus opaco

Respondet colli fluvius: frondere videntur  
Fluminei latices, et palmite consitus amnis.  
Quis color ille vadis, seras cum protulit umbras  
Hesperus, et viridi perfundit monte Mosellam?  
Tota natant crispis juga montibus, et tremit absens  
Pampinus, et vitreis vindemia turget in undis:  
Annumerat virides derisus navita vites,  
Navita caudiceo fluitans super æquora lembo,  
Per medium, qua sese amni confundit imago  
Collis, et umbrarum confinia conserit amnis.

Compare with this the descriptive passages in the Eclogues, for instance, or Georgics of Virgil. Among these Idyls is the too celebrated "Cento Nuptialis:" with regard to which, however, or rather with regard to the obnoxious passage with which it concludes, we may doubt whether it originated so much in a mere gloating love of impurity, as in the indulgence of a reckless ingenuity, glorying, with a kind of perverse triumph, in the dexterity with which the language and versification of Virgil had been forced into a combination with subjects so anti-Virgilian.

The "Epistles" are, on the whole, the most interesting of Ausonius's works. They are the natural effusions of his heart, his fancy, or his immediate humor, with little restraint except that produced by the consciousness of writing in verse. We may venture to diversify our monotonous criticism by one or two extracts. The following, from an epistle to his father on the birth of his (Ausonius's) son, strikes us as very pleasing :

(Ep. I.)

Credideram nil posse meis affectibus addi,  
 Quo, venerande pater, diligere magis.  
 Accessit (grates superis, medioque nepoti,  
 Bina dedit nostris qui juga nominibus;  
 Ipse nepos te fecit avum : mihi filius idem,  
 Et tibi ego : hoc nato nos sumus ambo pares.)  
 Accessit titulus, tua quo reverentia crescat ;  
 Quo doceam natum, quid sit amare patrem.  
 Quippe tibi æquatus videor, quod parvulus isto  
 Nomine honoratum te quoque nōbilitat ;  
 Atque ætas quia nostra eadem : nam supparis ævi  
 Sum tibi ego, et possum fratris habere vicem.  
 Nec tantum nostris spatium interponitur annis,  
 Quanta solent alios tempora dividere.  
 Vidi ego natales fratrum distare tot annis,  
 Quot nostros : ævum nomina non onerant.  
 Pulchra juventa tibi senium sic jungit, ut ævum  
 Quod prius est, maneat ; quod modo, ut incipiat.  
 Et placuisse reor geminis ætatibus, ut se  
 Non festinato tempore utraque<sup>1</sup> daret ;  
 Leniter hæc flueret, hæc non properata veniret,  
 Maturam frugem flore manente ferens.

The first epistle to Theon, though indulging too much in horse-play, is a good piece of sarcasm. The concluding lines of our extract almost rise to humor ; a quality exceedingly rare among the later Latin wits.

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<sup>1</sup> *Utræque* for *utræque*, and in like manner *eādem*, are among the many corruptions in quantity (as in other matters) in Ausonius, which mark an age of incipient barbarism. Perhaps this particular instance originated in the popular accentuation.

Quid geris, extremis positus telluris in oris,  
 Cultor arenarum vates? cui litus arandum,  
 Oceani finem juxta, Solemque cadentem;  
 Vilis arundineis cohibet quem pergula tectis,  
 Et tingit piceo lacrymosa colonica fumo.  
 Quid rerum Musæque gerunt, et cantor Apollo?  
 Musæ non Helicone satæ, nec fonte caballi,  
 Sed quæ fecundo de pectore Clementini  
 Inspirant vacuos aliena mente poetas.  
 Jure quidem; nam quis malit sua carmina dici,  
 Qui te securo possit proscindere risu?  
 Hæc quoque ne nostrum possint urgere pudorem,  
 Tu recita; et vere poterunt tua dicta videri.  
 Quam tamen exerces Medulorum in littore vitam?  
 Mercatusne agitas, leviori numismate captans,  
 Inanis quod mox pretiis gravis auctio vendat;  
 Albentis sevi globulos, et pinguis cæræ  
 Pondera, Naryciamque picem, scissamque papyrus,  
 Fumantesque olidum paganica lumina tædas?  
 An majora gerens, tota regione vagantes  
 Prosequeris fures? qui te, postrema timentes,  
 In partem prædamque vocant: tu mitis, et osor  
 Sanguinis humani, condonas crimina nummis,  
 Erroremque vocas, pretiumque imponis abactis  
 Bubus, et in partem sceleris de judice transis.

Of the Epistles to Paullinus we have already spoken. The Panegyric on Gratian will not detain us long. Its characteristics are fluency, spirit (or rather perhaps vivacity), and somewhat of artificial smartness. We are reminded here of the professional rhetorician, as in some other places of the schoolmaster. One unpleasing feature, although too common in Roman writers to excite particular disgust here, is the extravagant strain of eulogy in which he indulges. Yet something may be said in extenuation of such offences. The feeling which prompts them is not necessarily unmixed servility: there is a spell in things present, a fascination which operates in some degree unavoidably on all except the strongest eyes; there is a charm also in rank, in authority, in hereditary institution; and where both these adventitious influences concur, the merits of the individual invested with them are sure to be over-rated by the bulk of mankind. But we must not run out into crude speculation. In Ausonius's case it should be observed, that a long friendship, and great benefits conferred on him by Gratian, might excuse some warmth of panegyric on his part. We can afford only one short quotation; it is not the best that might have been selected, but we prefer it as containing a lively description of a somewhat extraordinary ceremony.

Vel illud unum cujusmodi est, de condonatis residuis tributorum?  
 Quod tu quam cumulata bonitate fecisti! Quis unquam imperatorum

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hoc provinciis suis aut uberiora indulgentia dedit, aut certiore securitate prospexit, aut prudentia consultiore munivit? Fecerat et Trajanus olim; sed, partibus retentis, non habebat tantam oblectationem concessi debiti portio, quanta suberat amaritudo servati. Et Antoninus indulserat; sed imperii, non beneficii successor invidit, qui ex documentis tabulisque populi condonata repetivit. Tu argumenta omnia flagitandi publicitus ardere jussisti. Videre in suis quæque foris omnes civitates conflagrationem salubris incendii. Ardebant stirpes fraudum veterum, ardebant seminaria futurarum. Jam se cum pulvere favilla miscuerat, jam nubibus fumus involverat; et adhuc obnoxii in paginis concrematis ductus apicum, et sententiarum notas cum titubantia et trepidatione cernebant; quod meminerant lectum, legi posse etiam tunc verentes.

We have omitted mention of one or two unimportant fasciculi of verse; neither have we noticed his prefaces, which are frequently better than the poems they usher in. On the whole, Ausonius appears to be fully entitled to the rank which he holds among the minor poets of Rome; and if we were to describe in one sentence the impression which the perusal of his collective works left on our minds, we should say that they contain so much good poetry, and so much beauty of sentiment, as to make us regret that the proportion of good to bad, in both instances, was not greater.

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### NOTICE OF

*"TRAVELS IN ARABIA; comprehending an Account of those Territories in Hedjáz which the Mohammedans regard as sacred."* By the late JOHN LEWIS BURCKHARDT. 4to. London, 1829. Pr. 2l. 2s. Colburn.

THE high reputation of Burckhardt as an intrepid and accomplished traveller has for some years been established throughout Europe by the accounts of his expeditions to Nubia and to Syria, published in two quarto volumes. The celebrity so justly acquired by those publications (a celebrity which we regret to designate posthumous, for the author died at Cairo in 1817,) will not, if our judgment be correct, suffer any diminution from the appearance of his Arabian Travels. Respecting this work, the editor, Sir William Ouseley, having observed in his preface, that to the former portions of Burckhardt's writings success was insured not only by intrinsic merit, but by the fame of their editor (Colonel Leake), as a scholar and antiquary, a traveller and a geographer, adds—

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"It must not, however, be inferred from any delay in publishing the present volume, that its contents are less worthy of notice than those parts which have already proved so interesting and instructive to a multitude of readers. It was always intended that this journal and other writings of the same lamented author should issue successively from the press."—"There still remains," says Colonel Leake in his Preface to the *Syrian Journal*, (p. ii.) "manuscripts sufficient to fill two volumes: one of these will consist of his *Travels in Arabia*, which were confined to the Hedjáz or Holy Land of the Muselmáns, the part least accessible to Christians: the fourth volume will contain very copious remarks on the Arabs of the Desert, and particularly the Wahabys."

As some important literary occupations prevented Col. Leake from superintending the progress of this volume through the press, Sir Wm. Ouseley undertook the task, adopting almost invariably the Colonel's plan in his edition of the former works: "particularly," says Sir William, "in expressing with scrupulous fidelity the author's sentiments on all occasions, and in retaining, without any regard to mere elegance of style or selection of terms, his original language wherever an alteration was not absolutely necessary, to reconcile with our system of phraseology and grammatical construction certain foreign idioms which had crept into his English writings." (Pref. p. vi.)

It must here be recollected that Burckhardt was a Swiss, born at Lausanne, and descended from an eminent family of Basle. But it is not merely the author's name that recommends this volume; the country which it describes is most particularly interesting.

In p. ix. the editor quotes a passage from Sir Wm. Jones, who says,

"the manners of the Hejázi Arabs have continued from the time of Solomon to the present age;"

and another from Gibbon, who observes, that

"our notions of Mecca must be drawn from the Arabians. As no unbeliever is permitted to enter the city, our travellers are silent; and the short hints of Thevenot are taken from the suspicious mouth of an African renegade."

But in Burckhardt's narrative we find an authentic and interesting account of the most solemn ceremonies which he witnessed at Mekka and Medina, and of the extraordinary people among whom he lived in the character of a Muselmán.

Supposing the reader to know (as related at the close of his *Nubian Travels*) that he had crossed the Red Sea from Africa to Arabia, our author abruptly begins this volume with the following words:

"My arrival in the Hedjáz was attended with some unfavorable circumstances. On entering the town of Djidda in the morning of the 18th July, 1814, I went to the house of a person on whom I had a letter of credit, delivered to me at my departure from Cairo in January

1813, when I had not yet fully resolved to extend my travels into Arabia. From this person I met with a very cold reception: the letter was thought to be of too old a date to deserve notice: indeed, my ragged appearance might have rendered any one cautious," &c.

Here the immediate want of a sum sufficient to defray his daily expenses obliged him, though very reluctantly, to sell a faithful and affectionate slave, for whom he entertained a regard. This slave had cost him sixteen dollars at Shendy, and was sold in the market at Djidda for forty-eight dollars.

"Thus," says he, "the profits of sale on *one* slave defrayed almost the whole expense of the four months' journey through Nubia which I had performed in the spring." (p. 8.)

From a physician named Yahya Effendi, who had heard a favorable report of our traveller at Cairo, he received three thousand piastres (about 100*l.*) for a bill on his friends in that city; and he was soon after invited by the Pasha to visit him at Tayf. As the invitation of a Turkish ruler is a polite command, he found it expedient to comply; and having minutely described Djidda, its commerce, the various commodities sold in its shops, the manners of its inhabitants and other matters, he set out for Tayf (five days distant from Djidda); and on his arrival there alighted at the house of Bosari, the Pasha's physician, whom he had known at Cairo. Under the name of Sheikh Ibrahim, Burckhardt declared himself to have been for some years a proselyte to the Mohammedan faith: yet he had reason to apprehend that Bosari watched him as a spy; and the Pasha had jocosely observed, "it is not the beard alone which proves a man to be a true Moslem." The Kadhy of Mekka (who happened then to be at Tayf,) remarked, that as none but a Moslem could be permitted to see the holy cities (Mekka and Medina), a circumstance of which our author could not be ignorant, he was inclined to suppose him a true believer, as he professed himself. Some difficulties on this subject being removed, Burckhardt had several interviews with the Pasha, and some extraordinary conversation of which he relates the particulars, (p. 77 et seq.). After some questions and answers the Pasha said,

"How did you pass your time among the blacks? I related some laughable stories, with which he seemed greatly amused. And now, Sheikh Ibrahim, where do you mean to go? I wish to perform the Hadj (or pilgrimage to Mekka), return to Cairo, and then proceed to visit Persia. (I did not think it advisable to mention my design of returning into the interior of Africa.) May God render smooth the way before you! but I think it folly and madness to travel so much. What, let me ask, is the result of your last journey? Men's lives are predestined: we all obey our fate. For myself, I enjoy great pleasure in exploring new

and unknown countries, and becoming acquainted with different races of people. I am induced to undertake journeys by the private satisfaction that travelling affords, and I care little about personal fatigue.—Have you heard the news from Europe?—Only some vague reports at Djidda. The Pasha then gave me an account of the events which ended in Bonaparte's banishment to Elba after the entrance of the allies into Paris. Bonaparte, he said, behaved like a coward; he ought to have sought for death rather than expose himself in a cage to the laughter of the universe. The Europeans, he said, are as treacherous as the Osmanlys (or Turks); all Bonaparte's confidants abandoned him, all his generals who owed to him their fortunes."

The Pasha inquired eagerly about the political relations between England and Russia. He seemed to fear that the English army which had been employed in the South of France would now be at liberty to invade Egypt. "The great fish swallow the small," he said, "and Egypt is necessary to England in supplying corn to Malta and Gibraltar." In the course of these conversations the geographical knowledge of his Turkish highness did not appear to great advantage; he confounded Geneva with Genoa, and Sweden with Switzerland. (p. 81.)

On his way from Tayf to Mekka, our author in passing by Wady Mohram assumed the *ihrām*, a particular dress of the hadjys or pilgrims who visit the sacred territory; and we learn in a note that, according to Arabian historians, the Khalifah

"Haroun Er'ashid and his wife Zobeyda once performed the pilgrimage on foot from Baghdad to Mekka, clothed only with the *ihrām*: that at every station of the caravan there was a castle with apartments splendidly furnished; and that the whole road was covered daily with carpets on which they walked." (p. 89.)

Burckhardt's companions on this journey were some soldiers, who, it appears, did not think it necessary to take the *ihrām*, although positively ordained by the law as the duty of all who travel towards the holy city. At a coffee-hut, where they halted during the mid-day hours, he remarked the dexterity of some Bedouins who were shooting at a mark, and frequently hit a piastre which he placed at about forty yards from them.

When they arrived at Mekka, his companions the soldiers went off to visit their acquaintances, leaving him in a place where he knew not one human being.

"Whoever enters Mekka," says he, "whether pilgrim or not, is enjoined by the law to visit the temple immediately, and not to attend to any worldly concern whatever before he has done so. We crossed the line of shops and houses up to the gates of the mosque, where my driver took his fare, and set me down; here I was accosted by half a dozen *mawlaf*, or guides, to the holy places, who knew from my being dressed in the *ihrām* that I intended to visit the kaaba. I chose one of them as my guide; and after having deposited my baggage in a



neighboring shop, entered the mosque at the gate called *Bab el Salem*, by which the new-comer is recommended to enter."

He then describes the various ceremonies performed on visiting the temple in a brief manner; for a complete detail would, he says, prove extremely tedious: many voluminous works in Arabic treat of nothing else. (p. 94.)

We shall but slightly notice the prayers recited on first sight of the kaaba: the two *rikats*, the four prostrations, in thanks for having reached that holy spot, the prayers before the black stone of the kaaba, two more *rikats*, the touching or kissing of the stone, the *towaf* or walk round the kaaba repeated seven times, the drinking of the holy water of the well Zemzem, and other ceremonies indispensable on this occasion. Our author having duly performed all, had part of his head shaved, and remained in the barber's shop, not knowing any place of repose; he inquired after lodgings, but found that the town was full of pilgrims, and that many were expected who had engaged apartments. At last he was enabled to hire a ready-furnished room; and having no servant, he agreed to board with the owner, whose family, a wife and two children, retired into a small open court-yard on the side of our traveller's room. Although even the second class of Mekkans lived in a style superior to that with which his landlord treated him, yet his charges amounted to fifteen piastres a day: several articles of his dress were pilfered;

"but," adds he, "this was not all: on the feast-day he invited me to a splendid supper, in company with half a dozen of his friends, in my room; and on the following morning he presented me with a bill for the whole expense of this entertainment." (p. 100.)

During the fast of Ramadhán, thousands of lamps illuminated the great mosque, which became the nightly resort of all foreigners at Mekka: the scene altogether presented a spectacle which (excepting the absence of women) resembled rather an European assemblage, than what could have been expected in the sanctuary of the Mohammedan religion.

"Mekka may be styled a handsome town; its streets are in general broader than those of Eastern cities; the houses lofty, and built of stone; and the numerous windows that face the streets give them a more lively and European aspect than those of Egypt or Syria, where the houses present but few windows towards the exterior. Mekka (like Djidda) contains many houses three stories high: ~~few at~~ Mekka are white-washed; but the dark grey color of the stone is much preferable to the glaring white that offends the eye in Djidda. In most towns of the Levant the narrowness of a street contributes to its coolness; and in countries where wheel-carriages are not used, a space that

allows two loaded camels to pass each other is deemed sufficient. At Mekka, however, it was necessary to leave the passages wide for the innumerable visitors who here crowd together; and it is in the houses adapted for the reception of pilgrims and other sojourners that the windows are so contrived as to command a view of the streets." (p. 104.)

Our author minutely describes the different quarters of Mekka and the chief articles to be found in the shops. Some Indians retail strings of coral and false pearls, rosaries made of aloe, sandal or kalembac wood, brilliant necklaces of cut cornelians, and China ware: but much prejudice exists in Arabia against those Indians who are regarded as idolaters, although they outwardly comply with all that the Mohammedan law requires: they are supposed to be of the Ismayeley sect; those mysterious devotees of whom Burckhardt gives an account in his Syrian travels. (See his *Journey to Lebanon*.) About a dozen of those Indians reside at Mekka, scrupulously performing all the Moslem rites and ceremonies, but living wholly among themselves in one large house, never allowing strangers to occupy any part of it; even should several of the apartments be untenanted.

"Contrary to the practice of all other Mohammedans, these Indians never bring their women to the pilgrimage, although they could well afford the expense; and those residing for however long a period at Mekka have never been known to marry there, which is the more remarkable, as other natives of India, who live here for any length of time, usually take wives, although they may have been already married at home."

Of these people the same stories were prevalent which were related concerning the Ismayeys: our author inquired in vain for information on their secret doctrines, but he heard that a sect of light-extinguishers existed in India as well as in Mesopotamia: to these perhaps belong the Ismayeys of Syria and of Mekka. (p. 120.)

In the street called Soueyga, Abyssinian slaves of both sexes are exposed for sale: beauty being an universal attraction, this place is frequented by hadjys (or pilgrims) old and young, who often pretend to bargain with the dealers that they may have an opportunity of viewing the slave-girls, during a few moments, in some adjoining apartment. "The price of the handsomest was from one hundred and ten to one hundred and twenty dollars." (p. 120.) This would sufficiently prove that the hadjys or pilgrims did not pass their time at Mekka wholly in religious meditations, or in acts of devotion; and to admire female beauty, or even to purchase slave-girls, (however incon-

sistent with the sacred character of Mekka) seems a mere feather in the scale of guilt, when we consider such excessive depravity as that to which an allusion is made at the end of the following passage, where the editor found it necessary to condense within the compass of a few lines several details on the same subject absolutely inadmissible in an English publication, as a gentleman assures us who has seen Burckhardt's original manuscript :

"It is only during the hours of prayer that the great mosques of these countries partake of the sanctity of prayer, or in any degree seem to be regarded as consecrated places. In El Azhar, the first mosque at Cairo, I have seen boys crying pancakes for sale, barbers shaving their customers, and many of the lower orders eating their dinners, where, during prayers, not the slightest motion, nor even whisper, diverts the attention of the congregation. Not a sound but the voice of the Imáns is heard during prayers in the great mosque at Mekka; which, at other times, is the place of meeting for men of business to converse on their affairs; and is sometimes so full of poor hadjys, or of diseased persons lying about under the colonnade, in the midst of their miserable baggage, as to have the appearance of an hospital rather than a temple. Boys play in the great square, and servants carry luggage across it, to pass by the nearest route from one part of the town to the other. In these respects the temple of Mekka resembles the other great mosques of the East. But the holy kaaba is rendered the scene of such indecencies and criminal acts, as cannot with propriety be more particularly noticed. They are not only practised here with impunity, but, it may be said, almost publicly; and my indignation has often been excited on witnessing abominations which called forth from other passing spectators nothing more than a laugh or a slight reprimand." (p. 150.)

On some occasions the whole square and the colonnades of the temple are illuminated by thousands of lamps, besides which most of the hadjys bring each his own lantern. This brilliancy and the cool breeze that pervades the square, induce multitudes to linger here till midnight. Our ingenious author was once present when an enthusiastic pilgrim from Darfour arrived at this imposing scene on the last night of the Ramadhán fast, after a long journey over many barren and wearisome deserts: on his entrance into the illuminated temple he was so overawed and affected that he fell prostrate, and remained a considerable time in that posture of adoration. He then rose, and instead of reciting the usual prayers of a visitor, only exclaimed, with a flood of tears, "O God! now take my soul, for this is Paradise." (p. 160.)

But on the termination of the hadj or pilgrimage, this mosque assumes a very different appearance; poverty and disease fill it with dying and dead. Many pilgrims

"drag their emaciated bodies along the columns ; and, when no longer able to stretch forth their hands to ask the passengers for charity, they place a bowl to receive alms near the mat on which they lay themselves. When they feel their last moments approaching, they cover themselves with their tattered garments ; and often a whole day passes before it is discovered that they are dead. For a month subsequent to the conclusion of the hadj, I found almost every morning corpses of pilgrims lying in the mosque : myself and a Greek hadjy, whom accident had brought to the spot, once closed the eyes of a poor Mogreby pilgrim, who had crawled into the neighborhood of the kaaba to breathe his last, as the Moslems say, 'in the arms of the prophet and of the guardian angels.' He intimated by signs his wish that we should sprinkle Zemzem water over him ; and while we were doing so he expired : half an hour afterwards he was buried." (p. 161.)

Our accomplished traveller devotes a long and very interesting chapter to his remarks on the inhabitants of Mekka and Djidda, whose character and manners he illustrates by a variety of curious and entertaining anecdotes : from these, however, the limits of our notice oblige us to hasten, that we may accompany him from Mekka to Medina. He left the former city on the 15th of January, 1815, with a small caravan of pilgrims going to pay their devotions at the prophet's tomb. Among his companions were some Malays, whose opinions respecting the English he contrived to learn : they showed a determined rancor and hostility towards their present masters, and greatly censured their manners ;

"of which, however, the worst they knew was that they indulged too freely in wine, and that the sexes mixed together in social intercourse : none, however, impeached the justice of the government, which they contrasted with the oppression of their native princes ; and although they bestowed on the British the same opprobrious epithets with which the fanatic Moslems everywhere revile Europeans, they never failed to add — '*but their government is good.*' I have overheard many similar conversations among the Indians at Djidda and Mekka, and also among the Arabian sailors who trade to Bombay and Surat : the spirit of all which was, that the Moslems of India hate the English, though they love their government." (p. 297.)

We must rapidly pass over the thirteen days' march from Mekka to Medina (including a halt of two days). In this city our author procured a lodging not far from the great mosque ; but was immediately called by the Mezowar or guide to visit the holy tomb of Mohammed : it being the duty of all strangers to perform that religious task before they undertake the most trifling or important business. (p. 317.)

But the ceremonies of Medina he found much easier and shorter than those of Mekka : a quarter of an hour sufficed for the performance of all. Here he again met Yahya Effendi, the Pasha's physician ; and was unluckily induced by his report

of the illness that affected many persons, to give him half a pound of bark which he had brought in his medicine-sack. Two days after he was himself attacked by a violent fever. As it was intermittent, he wished to take some bark; but on application to the physician, he declared that the last dram had been distributed: his fever increased; and our author was at last reduced to such a state of weakness, that he was unable to rise from his carpet without the assistance of his slave;

"a poor fellow," says he, "who, by habit and nature, was more fitted to take care of a camel than to nurse his drooping master."

Here he suffered much until the middle of April; but the bad water and unwholesome climate made him extremely desirous of leaving Medina. At length, finding himself just strong enough to mount a camel, he contracted with a Bedouin to conduct him as far as Yembo on the sea-coast, whence he might embark for Egypt; and having made a plan of the town, and collected the best information respecting it (which he gives in a particular chapter), he describes the various places adjoining, which partake of the sanctity of the mosque; and his remarks on the inhabitants of Medina are curious and interesting. As to the prophet's tomb, our readers will probably not feel disappointed. "The stories once prevalent in Europe respecting its being suspended in the air are unknown in the Hedjáz." (p. 333.)

At Medina it is thought indecorous that women should enter the mosque; even in their houses few females pray, except a few devout old ladies. Being regarded in the East

"as inferior creatures, to whom some learned commentators on the Koran deny even the entrance into paradise; their husbands care little about their strict observance of religious rites; and many of them even dislike it, because it raises them to a nearer level with themselves: and it is remarked that the woman makes a bad wife who can once claim the respect to which she is entitled by the regular reading of prayers." (p. 348.)

The mother of Tousoun Pasha appeared at Medina with all the pomp of an Eastern queen, and was regarded as an angel on account of her donations to the temple and to the poor. On her son she bestowed presents to the value of 25,000*l.*; twelve complete suits, including every article of dress from the finest Cashmere shawls to the slippers; a diamond ring worth 5000*l.*, and two beautiful Georgian slaves. But we must refer to the volume itself for many interesting anecdotes and remarks on the inhabitants of Medina—its government, climate, and diseases; and accompany our author from that city (which he left on the 21st of April, 1815;) to Yembo, where he arrived on the 27th in a very feeble state of health.

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Here the plague had just commenced its ravages ; a rare occurrence in the province of Hedjáz.

Ships may anchor with safety in the deep bay of Yembo, which is a very cheap place with respect to provisions ; but so infested with clouds of innumerable flies, that in eating it is impossible to avoid swallowing some with every mouthful. On the 15th of May our invalid traveller embarked in an open *jambouk*, or large boat, bound to Cosseir, and arrived at Sherm on the 5th of June, whence he proceeded by land to Cairo in company with some soldiers and two men of Damascus ; but he halted several days at a village called El Wady, where he was kindly treated, and recovered a little strength. Arriving at Cairo on the 24th, he found that the plague had nearly subsided—that the Christians had already re-opened their houses ; but that a great gloom still overspread the town from the mortality which had occurred.

To the account of Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia are annexed, from his papers, ten articles forming the Appendix : of these articles, No. I. shows the route of the pilgrim caravan through the country between Mekka and Sanaa in Yemen. No. II. describes the country through which the Kabsy pilgrims travel, and the extraordinary customs of some Arabian tribes. No. III. the route from Tayf to Sanaa. No. IV. Notices of the country south of Mekka. No. V. Stations of the Hadj or pilgrim caravan from Cairo to Mekka. No. VI. Geographical notices of the country northward and eastward of Medina. No. VII. Postscript to the description of the Beitullah or Mosque at Mekka. No. VIII. Philological observations. No. IX. Topographical notices of the valley of Mekka and its mountains, extracted from the history of Azraky. No. X. Additional notes. From all these our limits will admit but of one extract, which we make from No. II. Speaking of certain Arab tribes, the author mentions that, until they learned from the Wahabys some true principles of Mohammedanism, they knew nothing more of their religion than its creed, "*La Illaha ill' Allah*," &c.—"There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God."

"The El Merekede, a branch of the great Asyr tribe, indulged in an ancient custom of their forefathers, by assigning to the stranger who alighted at their tents or houses some female of the family to be his companion during the night, most commonly the host's own wife ; but to this barbarous system of hospitality young virgins were never sacrificed. If the stranger rendered himself agreeable to his fair partner, he was treated next morning with the utmost attention by his host, and furnished on parting with provisions sufficient for the remainder of his journey ; but if, unfortunately, he did not please the lady, his cloak was found next day to want a piece, cut off by her as a signal of con-

tempt. This circumstance being known, the unlucky traveller was driven away with disgrace by all the women and children of the village or encampment. It was not without much difficulty that the Wahabys forced them to renounce this custom: and as there was a scarcity of rain for two years after, the Merekedes regarded this misfortune as a punishment for having abandoned the laudable rites of hospitality practised during so many centuries by their ancestors. That this extraordinary custom prevailed in the Merekedo tribe I had often heard during my travels among the Syrian Bedouins, but could not readily believe a report so inconsistent with our established notions of the respect in which female honor is held by the Arabs; but I can no longer entertain a doubt on the subject, having received, both at Mekka and Tayf, from various persons who had actually witnessed the fact, most unequivocal evidence in confirmation of the statement." (p. 448.)

For a variety of curious and entertaining information we must again refer to the work itself, which forms a very handsome volume, printed by Valpy, and embellished with four plans and a general map, illustrating not only Burckhardt's route in the Hedjáz, but several of the Itineraries given from original authorities in the Appendix; constituting altogether a most important and valuable addition to our stock of authentic and interesting travels.

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*CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM GRÆCARUM;*  
*auctoritate et impensis Classis Historicæ et Philologicæ*  
*Academiæ Literarum Borussicæ edidit* AUGUSTUS  
BOECKHIUS, Academiæ Socius. *Berolini, ex officina*  
*Academica. Vendit G. Reimer, Libraria, Vol. i.*  
*Fasciculus primus, 1825: pag. 1—292. Fasciculus*  
*secundus, 1826: pag. 293—572. Fol.*

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PART II.—[Continued from No. LXXIII.]

WE have already given in a preceding number a preliminary article on this important work, published under the sanction and at the expense of the Royal Academy of Berlin. We took a general view of the plan of the work, and promised our readers to communicate to them in a condensed manner the substance of illustrative matter, by which the learned editor has rendered his work so useful and interesting to the scholar and archæologist; and we proposed, without entering into the minute details of palæographical controversy, to lay before them such inscriptions as have either been unedited before, or on which the erudition and the divinator faculties of the editor have thrown a new

light and interest. Boeckh himself intends giving a palæographical commentary at the end of the work; but the principles which guided him with reference to palæography, may already be collected from *Pars Prima*, which bears the title,—*Tituli antiquissima scriptura forma insigniores*.

The inscription at the head of it shows already that “doctors disagree.” It is the inscription found by Gropius the Austrian Consul at Athens in the neighborhood of Crissa, and which Rose has rejected as spurious, because he could make neither head nor tail of it. From personal acquaintance with Gropius, we happen to know, that he does not understand the ancient Greek, and this settles the question about the genuineness of the inscription. Boeckh reads thus:

Αητούς υἱέ, ὃς ἄπιτος αἰεὶ εἰ  
 Αρ[ίστων σ' ἔθηκε καὶ τε Βολα καὶ Κ[αλλι-  
 λεία] καὶ Ἀγασιδέα θυγατρὲς ὡς φίλοι.

On the stone only the letters *ετος* were legible, and even the *τ* is doubtful; but as the Delphic Apollo was worshipped at Crissa, the conjecture of B. is extremely probable. In support of *ἄπιτος* p. *ἄφπιτος*, he refers to *τίτθη*, *Σαπφώ*, *Βάκχος*. Hermann objected to the Homeric *καὶ τε*, but Pausan. viii. 21, 2. writes *καὶ ἐς Εἰλειθυϊάν τε*. The inscription runs on the stone from the right to the left in the manner used by the Orientals, the Greeks of the highest antiquity, and the Etruscans.

Insc. 3. is commonly called Insc. Naniana, from a column brought by Nani from the island of Melos. In a palæographical point of view, it is one of the most remarkable inscriptions, not only for the singular form of several letters, but especially because there occur in it *KΣ* instead of *Ξ*, *ΠΗ* instead of *Φ*, and *KH* instead of *Χ*. Still there is no reason to doubt its genuineness, as Thiersch has done. B. reads it thus:

Παῖ Διὸς Ἐκφάντῳ δέξαι τόδ' ἄμενφές ἀγαλμα  
 σοὶ γὰρ ἐπευχόμενος τοῦτ' ἐτέλεσσε γρόφων.

Where we put *φ*, *χ*, *ξ*, the inscription has the tenuis with the sign of the spiritus asper as marked above. That the Greeks used to write thus in early times, is proved by a passage from Bekker, Anecd. T. ii. Schol. Dionys. Thrac. p. 780. *ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκφωνήσεως τοῦ φ ἔγραφον τὸ π, προστιθέντες τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς σημεῖον τῆς δασείας*, &c. Cf. Priscianus p. 542. lib. i. cap. de numero litterarum, et Plinius H. N. vii. 68. B. supposes this inscription to belong to the age of Solon or Pisistratus. The inhabitants of Melos were Dorians; and Hermann says, *Proxima veterrimæ Græconum linguæ erat Dorica*. On the Spartan colony at Delos, Boeckh refers to Conon. Narrat. c. 36. Plutarch. de Virt. Mulier. p. 273. T. viii. ed. Tub. Herod. viii.



48. Thucyd. v. 84. et 112. Xenoph. H. Gr. II, 2, 3. The following translation is given by Boeckh : Jove gnate, ab Ecphantio accipe hoc sine reprehensione elaboratum donarium : tibi enim supplicans hoc perfecit scalpendo. Apollo, the ἀρχηγέτης of the Dorians, is the Jove gnatus. Ecphantus is a name which occurs in Suid. v. Μουσαῖος ; Demosth. de Cor. ἀρχεσθαι τινι, accipere ab aliquo, is found in Homer : cf. Porson. ad Eurip. Hecub. p. 45. ed. Lips. Pindar. Pyth. iv. 21. ἀμενφές l. ἀμεμφές is found in a few other texts. Ἀγαλμα was a general term for any work dedicated to the gods. Tim. Lex. Plat. ἀγαλμα : πᾶν ἀνάθημα : therefore the column was probably without any statue upon it ; πευχόμενος is given by supplicans, because it would require εὐχόμενος ἀνέθηκε if the column had been offered de voto : γρόφων p. γράφων Dorice, as μαλάχη μαλόχη, and γράφων p. γλάφων, excavans, scalpens. Welcker reads Τρόφων as a noun proper, and supposes Ecphantio to be an epithet of Diana, φῶς δὲ ἐκφαίνει (Il. Γ. 103.), which opinion he has retained in his Sylloge Epig. just published, Bonn. 1828.

Inscription 4. (Petilia.)

Θεὸς, Τύχη Σαῶτις διδ  
ωσι Σικαίνια τὰν Φοι  
κίαν· καὶ τ' ἄλλα πάντ  
α· Δαμιοργός· Παραγός  
ας· Πρόξενοι· Μίνκων·  
Ἀρμοξίδαμος· Ἀγάθα  
χος· Ὀναῖς· Ἐπικυρ  
ος·

The inscription is on a brazen tablet, and contains no long vowels nor any double consonant, except ξ in the shape of ς. Boeckh translates thus : Deus, Fortuna *adsint*. Saotis dat Sicaniæ domum suam et reliqua omnia. Demiurgus Paragoras, &c. Θεὸς, τύχη, as in Latin Patres (et) Conscripti, the καὶ being left out. Σαῶτις the name of a female ; there occurs Σάωτας, whence Σῶτις and Σαῶτις. The whole is a will, by which Saotis makes over her house and property to Sicania, and a Demiurgus and five Proxeni are taken as witnesses. Δημιουργός was the name of a magistrate in Dorian towns, — Hesych. v. Δημιουργός : and Boeckh supposes that the inscription designates the magistratus eponymus of the town ; and as Herod. vi. 37. mentions, that the kings at Sparta appointed public officers called Proxeni, the five Πρόξενοι at Petilia might also have been magistrates. How they came to affix their name to a will, is explained by Boeckh in a singular manner. Assum-

ing that at Petilia; as in other Dorian towns, no stranger could be left a legacy, or be appointed universal heir, the names of the Proxeni, who generally exercised public hospitality towards strangers, are to testify that no such stranger had been appointed as heir. It would rather appear that an exception had been made in this instance in favor of Sicænia, whose name already denotes a stranger, as Syrus, &c. and that in order to ensure the validity of the will, the Proxeni, together with the chief magistrate, were appointed as witnesses or executors.

Inscription 8. is the Sigeian, which is known well enough. This inscription has given rise to innumerable discussions; and Boeckh's opinion about it has since been again refuted at great length by Hermann. Boeckh supposes the lower and upper inscription to belong to the same age, and even to be the work of the same stonecutter: "Probabile mihi hoc unum videtur, post incisam inferiorem inscriptionem additam superiorem esse, ne nimium inconcinna lapidis videretur adornatio." Boeckh classes even this inscription among those "quæ falsam antiquitatis speciem præ se ferunt," like the columns of Herodes Atticus; and he assigns as a reason of the difference of dialects in the upper and lower inscription, a childish anxiety "ne novus hic titulus suis careret dotibus." Lastly, he supposes Phanodicus, the author of the inscription, to be the writer of the Deliac mentioned Schol. Apollon. Rhod. i. 211. 419. Diog. L. i. 31. 82. 83. who lived about the time of Aristotle. This Phanodicus of Proconnesus, being an Ionian, might have written the upper inscription in the Ionian dialect, in order to render it intelligible to his countrymen; and the lower, in the Attic dialect, was designed for the inhabitants of Sigeum. Thus Boeckh makes another shift, as if he were not pleased himself with his first hypothesis about the different dialects in the upper and lower part of the stone. We confess his arguments have failed to convince us, and we believe the lower inscription to be of a more ancient date than the upper, whence in the latter the Ionian letters are used.

Inscription 11. was brought by Sir W. Gell from Olympia, and was first published by R. Payne Knight. Boeckh shows by a passage from Strabo viii. that the Eleans and Arcadians spoke the Æolic dialect (*Ἰολίῳ* *διὰλέχθησαν*); and this inscription being written in that dialect, there is no reason to infer from the Doric treatises, given by Thucyd. v. 77. and 79. that the inscription must be on that account merely of a much higher date than Olymp. 90. Boeckh, however, on historical

grounds, supposes the treaty between the Eleans and the Heraeans, which this inscription contains, to have taken place about Olymp. 50.

Inscription 12. is an excellent specimen of the conjectural ingenuity of the editor. It is taken from the papers of Fourmont, and less liable to suspicion, as Boeckh observes, because it bears such evidences of mistakes, or of neglect in making the transcript, as would have been avoided by an artful compiler of inscriptions. As corrected by Boeckh the inscription reads thus:—

*Ἐν μέσῳ γε θελής τε καὶ ἄσπετος, ἄνερ, ὃδ' Ἐρμῆς.*

It appears from a passage of a dialogue *De lucri cupidine* (cf. *Ælian. V. H. viii. 2.*), that Hipparchus had Hermes placed halfway between Athens and the several *Δῆμοι*, one on each side; on the right was written a pentameter, and on the left a hexameter: so that the two verses of both Hermes formed a distichon; the hexameter generally indicating to the traveller that he had arrived *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ἄσπετος καὶ τοῦ δήμου*, and the pentameter containing some moral sentence; as,

*Μνήμα τόδ' Ἰππάρχου, στείχε δίκαια φρονῶν.*

According to O. Müller, the altar of the twelve gods at Athens served (as at Rome the *Miliarium Aureum*) to calculate distances from. We, however, remember an inscription in possession of Fauvel, which stated the distance of Athens from the Piræus at forty stadia; and, according to measurement, this is exactly the distance between the Acropolis and the Piræus. According to Fauvel, we believe the stone had been found walled in near the entrance of the Acropolis. However this may be, Boeckh's restoration of the above inscription appears to us most able and satisfactory.

Inscription 24. From the fragment of a column found in the Morea, and brought in 1783 to Ancona, where a stonemason bought it, and left it exposed to the weather, where it was greatly injured by mud and the sea air, Boeckh reads thus:

*Ἄρτεμι, σοὶ τόδ' ἄγαλμ' ἱερῆσ' ὠδίσιν [ἀμοιβήν]*

*Ἀσφαλῖω μῆτηρ Φέρσις [Ἐρ]ω θυγάτηρ*

*Τῷ Παρίῳ ποίημα Κ[ώλω]τεω οὐ ν[ύ]α φεύγων.*

This was an *ex voto* to Diana Ilythia. The name of the mother Φέρσις i. q. *Θέσις*, as *φῆρ θῆρ*, *φλᾶν*, *θλᾶν*, and *ποίημα* i. q. *ἔργον*. The artist was an exile from Paros, by name Colotes, as Boeckh conjectures; for Paus. v. 20. and Plin. xxxiv. 19. 27. mention an artist of this name, who, according to Pausanias, was a pupil of Praxiteles, a contemporary of Phidias, and in

faciendo Jove Olympio adjutor, (Plin. xxv. 34.) although not his pupil, as Pliny erroneously states, Heyne, however, (Opusc. T. v. p. 390.) supposes, that there have been two artists of the name of Colotes.

Inscriptions 25, 26, 27, are of a comparatively recent date with the affected appearance of antiquity. Such inscriptions became fashionable, when Greece had become an appendage to the Roman empire, when nothing was left but the recollections of past times and vanished glory. An antiquated orthography became then a substitute, a paltry one no doubt, for ancient freedom. Pausanias, however, mentions instances of this sort of affectation from a very early period: *Γέγραπται ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ γράμμασιν Ἀττικαῖς ἔργα εἶναι Πραξιτέλους*, says Paus. i. 2, 4. in speaking of the works of Praxiteles in the temple of Ceres at Athens; and these *γράμματα Ἀττικά* were those used before the times of the archons Euclides, Olymp. 94. 2. Now Praxiteles lived about Olymp. 104. when those *γράμματα ἀρχαῖα*, as he calls them, v. 22, 2. had come out of use. These inscriptions of fictitious antiquity avoid of course the long vowels and double consonants, and assume the spiritus *h*. Thus the inscription found at Delphi contains the words, *εχς Ερχομ* instead of *ἐξ Ὁρχομ[ενου]*: and in those of Herodes, found on the Via Appia near the monument of Metella, we read not only, *EN TEI HODOI p. ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ*, but even the spiritus intermedius, as, *MARTVS DAIMON ENHODIA p. Μάρτυς δαίμων ἐνόδια*.

This Herodes Atticus was born at Marathon in the reign of Hadrian. He was a man of great wealth and cultivated taste; and Philostratus, Vit. Soph. ii. 1, 14. says of him, *προσέκειτο πᾶσι τοῖς παλαιοῖς*. He built a magnificent odeon and a stadium at Athens, and another at Patræ, and a noble mansion for himself at Marathon. Under M. Anton. Pius he became consul at Rome; and built, after the death of his wife Annia Regilla, a triopium on the Via Appia, where Ceres was especially worshipped, besides Minerva and Nemesis. Boeckh refers to Paus. ii. 22, 2. who informs us, that a temple of Ceres at Argos had its name from Pelasgus, a son of Triopas: at Cnidos, a promontory of Caria, there was another triopium, built by Triopas; and the triopium of Herodes was probably, in imitation of that of Cnidos, devoted to the infernal gods (*θεοὶ χθόνιοι*), since we know that Herodes was instructed by Theagenes of Cnidos in the critical reading of the ancient writers. We may add, perhaps the Carian triopium was chosen by Herodes as a model in preference to the Eleusinian rites, just because many religious notions of the Greeks appear

to be derived from Caria, so that it was recommended by higher antiquity.

From inscription 27, it appears that Alciphron erected or renovated a stadium at Eleusis about the time of Hadrian.

Inscription 34 is taken from a marble anaglyph in the possession of the Earl of Pembroke, and published by Bimard la Bastie and Muratori, Thes. T. i. p. 35—48. It is written βουστροφηδόν, and runs thus: Μανθεος : Αιδου : εὐχαριστηι : Διι : επι νικει πενταθλου : παιδος. Maffei did not believe this inscription to be genuine: during his stay in England he had endeavored in vain to get a sight of the marble, which confirmed his suspicion. But the marble does exist, and has been seen by C. O. Muller, who also copies the inscription. Boeckh defends the inscription against Maffei; although he must allow that, even if genuine, it belongs to the number of those inscriptions to which inscriptions 5, 26, 27, belong. Maffei undoubtedly was wrong in maintaining that some letters of this inscription could not be found in any alphabet. The diphthong in Αιδου is a more decisive proof against its antiquity, since the Athenians did not write ου for ο before Olympiad 100. The Ionian characters were already for some time in use before the diphthong was adopted, nor did the Lacedæmonians use it at the time of Euclides. From a Macedonian silver coin it appears that it was used in Macedonia much earlier; for Αλεξανδρου is to be found on a coin, which represents Alexander the son of Amyntas, a contemporary of Pindar. The interpunction is another point against the high age of the inscription; it throws it into the times of the grammarians. The names Μανθεος and Αιδος nowhere occur; but nobody will say that we know all the Greek names. The word εὐχαριστηι for ἀνέθηκε, or ἀνέθηκε χαριστήριον, is not found in any other inscription; but Boeckh thinks that εὐχαριστηῖν could be used for gratias referre, gratificari, dono dare: παῖς πεντάθλος means puer quinquertio, or a youth who fights in the πένταθλον. This πένταθλον cannot have taken place at Olympia, because no boys were admitted there except Olymp. 38. (Paus. v. 9. vi. 15.); but there were many other torialia in Greece. Hermann, however, shows that πένταθλοι παῖδες were first admitted at Nemea, Olymp. 53. Mantheus cannot have won the prize before Olymp. 80, 2, if ever he did win it.

Another Wilton inscription on a round Bacchic altar contains these words: Μέλπομεν : Διόνυσον ἀγλαόμορφον Βακχύτορα ξανθοκάρπον. The inscription seems, according to Boeckh, "ex Bacchico hymno fraude conficta." For in Jacob's Antho-

logy, ed. 2. T. ii. p. 185. is found a hymnus containing the following verses :

Μέλωμεν βασιλῆα φιλεῦσιν, εἰσαφιάτην  
 ἀβροκόμην, ἀγροίκον, αἰδιδμον, ἀγλαόμορφον  
 Βοιωτὸν, Βρόμιον, βακχεύτορα, βοτρυχαίτην  
 Διογενῇ διγονον διδυραμβογενῇ Διόνυσον  
 ξυστοβόλον ξυνὸν ξενοδάτην ξανθοκάρηνον.

Both these inscriptions have been put also by Rose among the inscript. dubiæ.

Inscription 43 has been published by Demetrius Petrizzopulo : Saggio storico sulle prime età dell' Isola di Leucadia nell' Ionio, Florent. 1814. and is declared by Boeckh to be an impudent fabrication ; of which there cannot be the least doubt, although Rose complains only that it has been so badly copied.

After the inscription of Petrizzopulo follows the Appendix Partis primæ, or the Inscriptiones Fourmonti Spuriæ. Boeckh calls him "hominem vanitatis ventosissimæ," and "mendacissimum," and we shall therefore not detain our readers with any remarks on his inscriptions. Except Raoul Rochette, there is no man of sense in Europe who does not form the same opinion of Fourmont. We cannot conceive how it is possible to undertake the defence of an impostor, who dared to fabricate inscriptions of a date anterior to the Trojan war.

### *Short and Familiar NOTES on the PERSÆ of ÆSCHYLUS: originally written for the Use of a Young Pupil.*

1. Τάδε. "Οδς and its cases are used in the tragic writers, to show that the person or thing to which they are applied is either present on the stage or in sight ; and τάδε καλεῖται is the same as "we here are called." The chorus spoke by a κορυφαῖος, or head : therefore κορυφαῖος, here pointing to his companions, says, "this our party," &c.

Οἰχομένων. There are several verbs which have the form but not the signification of the present tense.

ἀρχομαι is abii, I am gone ; not abeo, I am going.

ἔγω is veni, I am come . . . . venio, . . . . coming.

εἰμι is ibo, I will go. . . . . eo, . . . . going.

2. Καλεῖται is used where we should expect ἵστί ; which is a very common usage of καλέομαι in the tragic writers : infr. v.

247. οὐρανὸς. θεοὶ κέκληνται φανὲς οὐδ' ὑπήκοοι. See Dr. Monk, Alc. 2.

4. Φύλαξ, agrees with the idea of ἡμεῖς contained in τὰδε πῖστα καλεῖται.

If the last syllable of πρεσβείαν be short, read τοὺς; if it be long, read either τοὺς or οὓς: τοὺς is used for οὓς, or the article for the relative, in both choral and iambic metres.

5. Whom Prince Xerxes the king. If there be any distinction between ἀναξ and βασιλεὺς, it may be that ἀναξ is a title of respect, βασιλεὺς of authority.

7. Ἐφορεύειν. Herodotus informs us that Xerxes committed the government to his uncle Artabanus alone. Χώρας may not mean the whole country over which Xerxes ruled, but the land immediately around the palace, ἔδρανα.

13. Βαῦζω, to bark as a dog; whence the English word bay: as when a dog is said to bay the moon, i. e. to howl at it. The scholiast makes Asia the nom. case to βαῦζει: it may be thus taken; "the whole force of Asia is gone, and barks after the young man (Xerxes);" or it may be, "the whole force of Asia is gone, and still anxiously calls out for any fresh or additional man to join them."

16. Σούσαν governed of ἔρκος; Susa the capital of Persia, Ecbatana of Media; and these two cities were the summer and winter residences of the kings of Persia. The ancient name of Ecbatana was Accessæa.

21. Ἀμίστρης. Herod. says, lib. i. that all the Persian names ended in σ. This is doubted by Scaliger.

24. Βασιλέως μεγάλου: the general title of the king of Persia.

37. Ὀγγυγίης, Ogygian. Ogyges was a very ancient king of Athens; and when any thing was very old, it was called after his name. See Steph. ad Sept. c. Theb. 327.

51. Λόγχης ἄκμονες. The anvils of the lance; i. e. they support the blows of the lance with the same firmness that an anvil supports the blows of the hammer. Callim. in Hymn. Dian. calls Hercules Τυρύνθιος ἄκμων.

62. Θρέψασα, from τρέφω; which shows that the original word from which θρέψασα is derived must have been θρέφω; but a Greek ear could not bear, except in extreme cases, the succession of two syllables in the same word, each beginning with an aspirate:

therefore instead of θρέψα they said τρέφω, fut. θρέψω.

|         |         |            |
|---------|---------|------------|
| ἔχω,    | ἔχω,    | ἔξω.       |
| θυφῶ,   | τυφῶ,   | θύψω.      |
| θάψω,   | τάψω,   | θάψω.      |
| τριχός, | τριχός, | from θρίξ. |

The 1st aorist pass. of *τρέφα*, according to this rule, would be *ἐτρέφην*; but they said *ἐτρέφην*, to distinguish it from the 1st aor. pass. of *τρέπω*, preferring harshness of sound to ambiguity of expression.

65. *Περάω*, transire facio; but in the preterperf. tense many verbs lay down their active meaning and become neuters, though *περάω* does signify sometimes transeo.

68. *Σχεδία*, derived from *ἔχω*, contineo, and signifies a raft which will hold together and support you on the water.

70. *Ὀδίσμα*. Ennius says,

Pontibus instratis conjunxit littora Xerxes.

Juvenal asserts that this story is false, Sat. x. 173.

creditur olim,

Velificatus Athos et quicquid Græcia mendax

Audet in historia, cum stratum classibus iisdem

Suppositumque rotis solidum mare.

*Πολύγομφον ὄδισμα*, refers to a *road* which he made across the Hellespont by a bridge of boats; which bridge encompassed the surface of the sea as a yoke encircles the neck of an animal.

76. *Θεῖον*, divinum, inde immensum; for the Greeks called any thing *θεῖος*, which was large in size or excellent in kind: so *θεῖος ἄοιδος*, the divine or excellent minstrel in Homer.

79. Relying on his firm vigorous generals; i. e. relying on the firmness of his vigorous generals.

83. Looking with his eyes the azure gaze; i. e. putting on the look: *δέρυγμα* is the accusative case of a cognate object governed of *λέυσσαν*. So in Sept. c. Theb. v. 53.

*λέοντων ὡς Ἄρην δεδογμέναν*:

like lions looking war; i. e. carrying war in their looks.

*Δράκων*, derived from *δέρχομαι*, from the keenness of its gaze.

87. *Ἐπάγω* is a term borrowed from hunting, and signifies to direct or urge on a dog to the pursuit of the game.

88. *Τοξόδαμνον ἄρην*, war which subdues by the bow: the penult of *Ἄρης* is here long, so it is in Homer,

*Ἄρες Ἄρες, βροτολοιγὲ, μιαίφονε, τευχισίπλητε.*

89. *Ἐκστὰς, εἰργεῖν*: translate as if these were two verbs, to withstand and check.

*Εἰργεῖν* is distinguished from *εἰργεῖν*: according to some grammarians, *εἰργω*, excludo; *εἰργω*, includo.

92. *Κῦμα θαλάσσης*, the Persian army which was advancing like a wave from the sea: in Sept. c. Theb. we have

*βοᾷ γὰρ κῦμα χειρῶν στράτου*:

and ibid.

*κῦμα γὰρ περὶ πτόλιν*

*δοχμολόφων ἀνδρῶν*

*καχλάζει πνοαῖς ἄρεος ὁρόμενον.*



95. Τίς ὁ κραϊπνῶ; Cf. Soph. Cē. R. v. 874. speaking of ὕβρις.

102. Ἀρκύστατα signifies the places where nets were placed.

115. Ἐσπαῖν, to bear the sight : so Hor.

Qui vidit mare turgidum,

who bore the sight of the swollen sea.

119. Μοι φρήν, where we should expect μου φρήν : this mode of speaking is very common both in Greek and Latin; indeed μου φρήν is very uncommon.

Hor.

Illi robur et æs triplex

Circa pectus erat.

Hom. Il. N. 21. Ἐνθα δέ οἱ κλυτὰ δώματα βένθεσι λίμνης  
Χρύσεα μαρμαίροντα τετεύχεται.

Cf. also Il. K. 438.

121. Στρατεύματος governed of ἔνεκα. The genitive case in this sense follows exclamations, where something like this is implied, alas ! alas ! and the genitive gives the cause of the exclamation.

124. Πόλις and ἄστυ differ : πόλις signifies the city and inhabitants, or sometimes the state or government of the city ; ἄστυ, the city or buildings. Πόλις civitas, and ἄστυ urbs.

125. There must be a colon after πολισμ', as Dr. Blomfield has edited ; and from ἀντιδουπον to ἀπύων must be parenthetical, otherwise there is no verb with which the subj. πέση can be connected : by this arrangement the passage runs thus : "lest the state should hear of the great city of Susa and the town of Cissia being robbed of its men, and (lest) rendings should fall on their linen garments."

130. It was a custom all over the East to rend their garments in token of affliction.

144. Μονόζυξ, more elegant than μόνη. It signifies that she was one of a pair yoked together in matrimony, and deprived of her yoke-fellow.

148. πῶς πράσσει, distinguished from πῶς ποιεῖ : the former means, how fares he, or what is his success ? the latter, how is he acting ? or what have been his performances ?

157. Προσπιπνῶ. It was the custom of the Persians to fall prostrate at the feet of their sovereign before they addressed them. Or. 1509.

προσκυνῶ σ' ἀναξ, νόμοισι βαρβάροισι προσκισών.

162. Ἔφυν and its different persons are frequently used in the sense of the present tense. So Horace uses erat :—

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero

Pulsanda tellus, nunc Saliaribus

Ornare pulvinar Deorum

Tempus erat dapibus, sodales.

165. *Εὐναστήριον* : *εὐνή*, a bed ; *εὐναστής*, the person who sleeps in that bed ; and *εὐναστήριον*, the place where the *εὐναστής* sleeps, or a bed-chamber. So *δεσμός*, a fetter ; *δεσμοστής*, a person fettered, or a prisoner ; *δεσμοστήριον*, the place where the *δεσμοστής* is kept, a prison : *φύλαξ*, a guard ; *φυλακτήριον*, the place where the *φύλακες* remain, a garrison. Cf. Cattieri, *Gaz.* Græ. p. 17.

166. *Καρδίαν*, acc. governed of *ἀμύσσει*, not of *κατὰ* understood. Porson says that if a verb can govern each of two acc. cases separately, it may govern them conjointly. See Phœn. 300. So Trach. 49.

πολλὰ μὲν σ' ἔγω  
κατεῖδον ἤδη πανδάκρυτ' ὀδύρματα  
τὴν Ἡράκλειον ἔξοδον γοωμένην.

So Æsch. Theb. 834. *Κακὸν μὲ καρδίαν τι περιπίπτει κρῖος.*

Eumen. 88. *Μὴ φόβος σε νικάτω φρένας.*

168. *Κονίσας*, "having raised the dust of the ground with its foot [in flight] should upset," Blomf. ; or perhaps it might mean, wealth, after having covered the ground with money as with dust.

175. *Πρὸς τὰδε* and *πρὸς ταῦτα*, propterea, and may be translated *wherefore*, or *and now* in the sense of the passage in Shakespeare, "*and now to supper with what appetite ye may.*" *Πρὸς τοῖσδε*, a different thing, means in addition to these, "besides."

179. *Ἡγεῖσθαι θέλη* : the reading of this passage is manifestly corrupt. Dr. Blomfield suggests *ἄνπερ δύναμις, ἡγεῖσθαι σε δεῖ* : and it would be translated, "of whatever things we have the power or control, it is your part to lead the way !" another reading is *ἡγεῖσθαι ὃ ἔλθῃς*, and then we must translate, "whatever we can do, and what you may choose to propose."

182. *Γῆν οἶχεται*. Verbs of motion take an acc. of the place to which, without a prep. Cf. Alc. 495.

190. *Κασιγνήτα* : why sisters of the same family ? Andro of Halicarnassus informs us that Oceanus married Pompholygè and Parthenopè ; by the latter he had two daughters, Europa and Thracè ; and by the former, Asia and Libya, from whom the continents derived their names. *Schol.*

192. *Βάρβαρον*, foreign ; the term was proper in the mouth of Æsch., improper in that of Atossa : the cause of this slight impropriety is very obvious, when we consider that the writer

was a Greek, writing for Greeks who called all except those of their own nation *βάρβαροι*.

210. *Ἐσχάραν Φοίβου*: this mention of sacrifices and gods is contrary to the religious sentiments and customs of the Persians, who erected neither statues nor temples nor altars to their deities. Herodotus says, οὔτε βαμοὺς ποιεῦνται, οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσιν μέλλοντες θύειν.

213. *Ἐφορμαίνοντα*, rushing or pouncing upon.

214. *Οὐδέν*. The acc. case after some word *ἔκτιστος* understood: it would not be proper or scarcely sense to connect *οὐδέν* with *παρεῖχε*. These instances often occur where a verb is proper as applied to the noun immediately next to it, improper when applied to a noun more remote. So *Prom. v. 21*.

*ἴν' οὔτε φωνὴν οὔτε τοῦ μορφῆν βροτῶν ὄψαι.*

228. *Τάμπαλιν*, the contrary. So in *Hec. 777*.

243. *Ἀργύρου πύγη*, refers to the silver mines possessed by the Athenians at Laurium and Thoricum.

252. *Δρόμημι φωτὸς Περσικόν*, where we should expect *δρόμημα φωτὸς Περσικῆς*. Horace imitates this figure:—

*Premant Calenia falce quibus dedit*

*Fortuna vitæ:*

for *Calenam falce vitæ*.

256. *Ἐν* often denotes the cause, manner, or instrument. So *CE. R. sub init.* *ἐν γῆρ' βαρεῖς*, laden or weighed down with old age.

This line is an instance of the quasi cæsura, without an elision. These lines generally occur where there is great agitation in the speaker, though this is denied by Dr. Blomfield; it is, however, certain that many similar lines are found under such circumstances, as *CE. R. l. 728*.

*ὦ Ζεῦ, τί μοι δρᾶσαι βεβούλευσαι πέρι;*

266. *Νόστιμον φάος*, in the Homeric sense of *νόστιμον ἡμῶν*, the day of return: "I am returned unexpectedly; I behold the light." So *δούλιον ἡμῶν*, the day of slavery.

295. *Σιγῶ πάλοι*: *πάλοι* is used with a present tense to signify what has been previously, and continues to the present time; I have been long silent, and am silent up to the present moment. So *Aj. Fl. 3*.

*καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ σήναις σε ναυτικάς δρῶ*

*πάλοι κυνηγετοῦντα καὶ μετρούμενον ἔχῃ.*

dogging him now, and having been doing so for a long time.

*Jamdudum* is used in the same sense in Latin. Cf. Hor. Od. iii. 29. 1.

Tyrrhena regum progenies, tibi  
Non ante verso lene merum cado,  
Cum flore, Mæcenas, rosarum, et  
Pressa tuis balanūs capillis

*Jamdudum* apud me est :

is with me, and has been so for a long time.

296. *Ἰππεβάλλει* is not taken *absolutely* or intransitively, but transitively ; having the succeeding line as the acc. case after it: negatio propter sententiam negantem ornat magis quam negat. Pauw.

307. *Ἀρτεμβάρης*. The penult of this word is here short, though it is long in v. 29. This licence of quantity seems allowed in other Persian names, as *Ἀριόμαρδος* : the first syllable is long v. 38. and short v. 326.

*Ἴππου* : when *ἵππος* designates a body of cavalry as here, it is always used in the feminine gender.

308. *Στυφλός* is of the masc. and fem. gender ; and several adjectives in *ος* have the fem. both in *η* and *ος* ; as *στεφρὸς*, *κλυτὸς*, *ἀργὸς*, *γενναῖος*, &c. Cf. Hec. 296.

310. *Πήδημα*, the acc. case of a cognate object, governed of *ἀφήλατο*.

315. *Κύρισσον* must be written *κύρισσον*, because the Attic tragic writers *never* omitted the augment in iambic metre : they did sometimes in the choral odes, because they were written in the Doric dialect, which did not always employ the augment. Hence the reading of v. 313. *ναὸς ἐκ βαιᾶς* (or *μιᾶς*) *πέσον*, is objectionable, and v. 1. should be *ναὸς ἔπεσον ἐκ μιᾶς*, as Porson suggested.

321. *Πυρσὴν* not *πυρρὰν* : the tragic writers used *ρσ* and not *ρρ* : thus they said *Χερσονησίαν*, not *Χερρῶνησίαν*, Hec. 8. nor did they use *ττ* but *σσ* : they said *μέλισσα*, not *μέλιττα*. See R. P.

319. *Σκληρᾶς* . . . the sojourner in a *cruel* land ; namely, Salamis.

321. *Ἀριόμαρδος* : “ there must be anhiatus after this, for two reasons ; 1st. because Ariomardus came from Thebes in Egypt, and could not by his death cause any great sorrow to the people of Sardis ; 2nd. because it offends against the metre, since a cretic at the end of a line cannot be preceded by a long syllable at the conclusion of an hypermonosyllabic word.” R. P. Præf. p. 38.

348. *Ἦν*, Attice for *ᾶς*, by attraction to *νηῶν* understood after *πληθός*.

349. Ἐχω, when joined with an adverb, as here, must be translated by the auxiliary verb, to be.

353. Θεοὶ . . . the following line must be attributed to Atossa, and read ἔρ' ἄρ' Ἀθηνῶν, and the meaning will run thus : [I know that] the gods look after or endeavor to preserve the city of Athens. Is that city still impregnable ? . . . the messenger answers, Yes ; for whilst its inhabitants are in existence, its chief bulwark is secure, independent of its walls : it was a matter of boast in a country that it was ἀπόρητος. So Eurip. Med. 822. congratulates the Athenians because they inhabited ἱερὰν χώραν ἀπόρητον.

Σώζω is to endeavor to preserve, ἐκσώζω to succeed in preserving : the same distinction holds between φεύγω and ἐκφεύγω, though we find infr. 375. φευξοίαθ' in the sense of ἐκφεύξοιαθ'. The fact is, words may have the sense of their compounds with ἐκ, but the compounds cannot have the simple meaning of the verbs from which they are derived.

368. Φθόνον. The ancients used to attribute all dangerous reverses of fortune to the envy of the gods : thus in Alc. 1154. Hercules prays Φθόνος δὲ μὴ γένοιτό τις θεῶν. Cf. Herod. iii. 40. the letter of Amasis to Polycrates . . . ἐπισταμένῳ τὸ θεῖον ὡς ἐστὶ φθονερὸν, κ. τ. λ.

370. Φλέγων not φλέγειν. Verbs of beginning and ceasing, with many verbs of sense, take after them a participle, and not the infinitive mood. Φλέγω is here used actively, to signify uro, or to enlighten. So Theb. 509. Διὰ κερὸς βέλος φλέγων, waving his spear in his hand so as to cause a bright light. Cæ. R. 191.

ὃς νῦν ἀχαλκος ἀσπίδων  
φλέγει με περιβόατος ἀντιάων.

377. Κρατὸς means capitis, and we may know this for two reasons ; its penult is long, that of κράτος, robur, short ; κρατὸς, capitis, is oxyton ; κράτος, robur, is paroxyton ; κρατὸς capitis,

κράτος robur. κρατὸς has no nom. there are κρατὸς, κρατὶ, κρᾶτα, and κρᾶτας : the gen. and dat. are fem., the acc. is masc. and neuter. See Schol. in Hec. 432.

417. Δόρυ, in the Latin sense of trabs, a vessel : as Hor. Od. 1. 1.

ut trabe Cypria

Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare.

459. Εἰναλίῳν is not admissible on account of the metre ; for in that case there would be an anapæst in the fifth foot : now an anapæst can only stand in the first foot, except in the case of a proper name, and then must be contained in the proper name.

484. *φράξαντες*: here *φραζάμενοι* would be proper, because they protected *their own* persons. But *φράξαντες* is true as far as it goes. The active voice is used where you might expect the middle; but not *vice versa* in words that have both active and middle in use: thus, *έλουσα δέμας* may mean, I washed *my* body; but *έλουσάμην δέμας* cannot mean, I washed the body of another. So infr. 483. *έπίσπασε*.

515. *Θρήκην, κ. τ. λ.* This line has no cæsure or quasi cæsure. Porson says, pronunciandi difficultas laborem ab exercitu Perwico exhaustum optime exprimit. See above v. 256.

522. *Ενήλου*. So CE. R. v. 263.

*νυν δ' εις τὸ καίνου κρᾶθ' ἐνήλαθ' ἡ τύχη.*

527. *Διαπεπραγμένον*, perfecti, or completely destroyed; so *ἐχειργασμένοις*, completely *done for*, or undone.

531. *Ἐπίσταμαι μὲν [ἔχειν λαβοῦσαν πύλαν] ὡς ἐπ' ἐχειργασμένοις. ἀλλ' [ἔχω λαβοῦσα, κ. τ. λ.] ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν, &c.* τὸ λοιπὸν may mean (1) the remainder of the army, or (2) the future.

— *Δωρήματα*, a plural put in apposition with a noun sing., a very common idiom in the tragic writers. So Hipp. 11.

*Ἰππόλυτος ἀγνοῦ Πιπθέως παιδεύματα.* See Dr. Monk in loco.

560. *Τί πότε*, for what possible end did Darius then preside, a no uninjurious governor of his people? in other words, What good has resulted from the calamitous reign of Darius, if his son Xerxes will not take a lesson from his misfortunes?

— *Πότε* is used in interrogative sentences to express vehement impatience in the speaker. So Hec. 182. *τί ποτ' ἀπόσω*; what possible thing shall I say? and v. 85.

571. *Αὐτὸν ὡς ἀκούομεν*: the Schol. asserts that *ὡς* here is redundant; if *ὡς ἀκούομεν* be taken parenthetically, or preceded and succeeded by commas, as Dr. Blomfield has edited, “as we hear,” we must understand *λέγουσι*, or tale quid. Heath says that *ὡς* is put for *οὕτως*, with very little meaning.

576. After *Κυχρίδας, δὲ*, Hermann replaces *ἔρβανται*, from v. 585. for in this strophe a word of three long syllables is wanting, and in the antistrophe it is redundant; but perhaps it might be read *ἔρρονται*. Dr. Blomfield suggests *ἔρροντες*.

595. *Ἀρξονται*, the fut. middle used passively. Dr. Monk maintains that there are four forms of the future passive: (1) what is called the first future middle; (2) the first fut. pass. (3) the second fut. pass. and (4) the paulo post fut.

604. *Ἐμπόρος*, would mean a merchant in, or a dealer in evils —one who deals in evils; *ἔμπειρος* means, experienced in . . . *ἔμπόρος* is perhaps the reading, as it agrees with the metaphor contained in the whole passage.

690. Ἀγπλῆς, its mother; viz. the vine called ἀγπλῆς; either because it caused wildness in those that drank it to excess; or because it was planted in the fields; and this pure liquid the pride of the ancient vine [derived] from its wild parent.

690. If it be read θαλάμους ὑπὸ, πρὸς must be understood before θαλάμους; but if ὑπὸ be paroxyt. it may govern θαλάμους.

699. Μακαρίτης is applied to a person when dead; μακάριος; to a person when living; or generally. See Schol. in loc.

645. Αἰνέω, signifies to assent to; or acquiesce in, and acquiesce in him coming; i. e. permit him to come. Cf. Alc. 2.

ἐν οἷς ἔτλην ἐγὼ

θῆσαν τράπεζαν ἀνέσαι, θεὸς περ ἄν.

to acquiesce in a servile table. See Dr. Monk in l.

668. Ἐποδάσκει Branch supposes to be put Ionicè for ἐφάδα-  
κει; but no such word occurs as ἐφάδακω; the scholiast has  
conceived the existence of some word ποδακίω, the meaning of  
which is, to direct under his feet, as a charioteer directs his  
horses. Dr. Blomfield proposes στρατόν ἐπάδωσαν, he guided  
well his army.

673. Κατὰ πᾶσ' : κατὰ in this case must be joined with ἀπό-  
λας, and would cause it to signify the complete way in which  
the youth were destroyed. Κατὰ γὰρ is another reading, and  
adopted by Dr. Blomfield, and would mean, that they were de-  
stroyed and buried.

687. Πιστὰ for πιστοί : so in the beginning of the play, τὰδε  
πιστὰ, for οἱ πιστοί.

693. Ψυχαγωγοῖς, with lamentations of sufficient power to  
raise or bring the souls from the shades below.

694. Εὐέξοδον. Virg. Æn. vi.

Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,  
Hic labor, hoc opus est.

Catullus :

Illuc unde negant redire quenquam.

712. Τοι in gnomis amant tragici. R. P.

719. Γὰρ refers to something which is elegantly understood :  
γὰρ contains the reason of something like this, The chorus  
are prevented by their feelings from telling you ; but I will, for,  
&c.

720. Εἰπὼν ἓτος, to speak or say one word—to speak in a  
word—to speak briefly. So Eurip. Or. 1.

Οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν δεινόν, ἃδ' εἰπὼν ἓτος.

730. Τίς δαιμόναν. This refers to the opinion entertained by  
the ancients—quos Jupiter vult perdere, prius dementat ; which

## 140 Notes on the Persæ of Æschylus.

is a translation of the following lines in Euripides, found in the *Incertæ Tragicæ* as edited by Barnes:

ἔταν δὲ δαίμων ἀνδρὶ ποσὺν κακὰ,  
τὸν νοῦν ἔβλαψε πρῶτον.

So Velleius Paterculus de Variana clade, ii. cap. 118. Ita serēs habet, ut plerumque Deus, fortunam mutaturus, consilia corrumpat.

752. *Ῥέοντα* may be taken actively, and signify, rolling or urging on the Bosphorus; *ῥέω* is sometimes so used. Hec. 528.

*Ἐρβει χυρὶ. . . χοῆς θανόντι πατρὶ*—poured on his hand libations to his father. If there was authority for it, Dr. Blomfield's reading would be preferable:

ἔλπισε σχῆσιν, ῥέοντα Βοσπόρου ῥέον θεοῦ.

773. *Φρένης*, his name was *Ἀρταφρένης*, and rightly too, for ..

802. *Νοστήμου σωτηρίας*, the safety of return, where we should expect *νόστου σωτήρος*.

804. *Οὐ τὰ μὲν*: it is not that some misfortunes happen and others do not; but *all* the misfortunes which man is doomed to suffer he must meet with.

814. *Βρότη*, from *βρότας*, q. *βροτὸς*, because it was an image in the human shape; *ξόανον*, an image formed of wood or stone, but not necessarily of the human shape: such was the Palladium.

826. *Ἐξάρκωσι*. The past tense is often used in general remarks to denote frequency of occurrence. So Hor. Od. iii. ii. 29.

sæpe Diespiter

Neglectus incesto *addidit* integrum.

Raro antecedentem scelestum

*Deseruit* pede pœna claudo.

Cf. Philoct. v. 688.

*Ἔβρις*. Cf. Cæ. Rex, 874.

ἔβρις, ἣν πόλλαν ὑπερπλησθῇ μάταν,  
ἀν μὴ τίκαιρα μὴδὲ συμφέροντα,  
ἀκρότατα εἰσαναβᾶσ' ἀπότομον  
ἄρουσεν εἰς ἀνάγκαν

ἔνθ' οὐ ποδὶ χρησίμῳ χρῆται.

832. *Ζεὺς τοι. . .* Cf. Hor. lib. i. 34.

Valet ima summis

Mutare, et insignem attenuat Deus,

Obscura promens.

Senec. Thyest. Quem dies vidit veniens superbum,  
Hunc dies vidit fugiens jacentem.



855. ὑπαντιάζειν παῖδ' ἐμῷ. Dr. Blomfield alters ἐμῷ to ἐμὸν, and quotes a passage from Herod. to prove that ὑπαντιάζειν may have an acc. case after it. This alteration is made because the tragic writers never elided the iota of the dat. sing. Dr. Monk, however, says this is not true in all cases, and would not alter the passage in question. Cf. Alc. 1137.

καὶ μὴν προτεῖνω, Γόργον' ὡς καρατόμαρ.

## BLOMFIELD'S CANONS.

### SEPTEM CONTRA THEBAS.

1. Ἐπὶ, in the sense of *contra*, is sometimes used with a dative case by Æschylus. See Sept. Theb. 711. Agam. 60. P. V. 1124. though with the genitive more generally. V. 1.

2. The article is frequently used for the relative: τοὺς for οὓς Pers. 43. τοῦπερ for οὗπερ *ibid.* 780. τὸθεν for θθεν *ibid.* 780. τὴν for ἣν Agam. 644, &c. V. 37.

3. The tragic writers used the Doric forms, κυναγὸς, κυναγέω, κυναγέτης, λοχαγέτης, ἐβδομαγέτης. V. 42.

4. Brunck and Schutz prefer as more Attic πλεύμων instead of πνεύμων, but the latter is the more recent Attic form. The grammarians indeed side with Brunck, but then it is well known that they derived their rules for the most part from Ælian, Libanius, Aristides, and other sophists, sometimes from Lucian, more rarely from the historians or Plato, and very seldom indeed from the scenic poets. V. 61.

5. The Ionic νηδς for ναιδς was not used in the iambic senary. V. 62.

6. Εὔχομαι is frequently omitted before an infinitive mood. See Sept. Theb. 239. Choëph. 304. Eurip. Suppl. 3. V. 75.

7. Τίω has the first syllable common in Homer, but short in Æschylus and Aristophanes. The first syllable of τίσω is always long. V. 77.

8. The first syllable of Ἄρης is sometimes long as in vv. 125. 336. 465.

9. Nouns compounded of nouns in ος generally retain the termination ος; thus words compounded of λόγος, τρόχος, &c. in the tragic writers never end in ας; that termination being more modern and less agreeable to analogy. V. 109.

10. Some adjectives have the three terminations, εις, ιος, ικος, as ἵππειος, ἵππιος, ἵππικος; δούλειος, δούλιος, δουλικός, &c. The

first of which three forms is used only on account of the metre. V. 116.

11. The last syllable of *πόντια* is always short. V. 141.

12. The probable orthography of *χώρα* is *κώρα*. From *κρία* is derived *κρούς* and *κώρα*, as from *ρία*, *ρούς* and *ρόα*; from *χρία*, *χρούς* and *χώρα*. V. 142.

13. *Μη* sometimes forms a crasis with *ει* and *εις*. V. 193.

14. The tragic writers never join *δε* and *τε*. V. 212.

15. The words *Σύ τοι* are never construed except with the indicative. V. 220.

16. *Οὔτι* no where begins a sentence, unless *μη*, *ποῦ*, or *πῶς* follows, or when there is an interrogation, and then a word is always interposed between them. The formula *ἀλλ' οὔτι* is frequent at the head of a sentence. V. 222.

17. *Νυν* is always an enclitic when it is subjoined to the particle *μή*. V. 228.

18. *Ἀπολέγω* is a word unheard of by the tragic writers. V. 259.

19. The Attics wrote *δήιος* and *δῆος*, not *δαίιος* and *δαῖος*, as is clear from the compounds *δηιάλατος*, *ἄδῆος*, and the verb *δῆω*. *Δάιος*, however, is the proper orthography, when it signifies *ἄθλιος*. V. 264.

20. *Νίας* is a monosyllable. V. 316.

21. *Ὡς*, in the sense of *adeo* ut, is only found with the infinitive. V. 361.

22. *Ἐτέρωκος*, not *ἐπέρωκος*, is the form used by the tragic writers; for there is no passage in them where the metre requires the latter form; some where it rejects it. A later age, as it seems, inserted the *μ*. V. 387.

23. *Ἄνοια*, and similar compounds, very rarely produce the last syllable, in Æschylus never. V. 398.

24. *Ἄ μὴ κράνοι θεός*. In prayers of this kind the aorist is more usual than the present. V. 422.

25. *Ἰός* in the tragic writers has the first syllable common, but oftener short. V. 489.

26. *Τῷ* is never put for *τούτῳ* with a substantive. V. 505.

27. *Εἶθε γάρ* is scarcely Greek. *Utinam* is expressed by *εἰ* or *εἰ γάρ*, never by *εἶθε γάρ*. V. 563.

28. *Πολέμαρχος*, not *Πολεμάρχης*: That the Attics terminated compounds of this kind by *χος* may be inferred from the circumstance that their proper names were *Ἰππάρχος*, *Νεάρχος*, *Κλέαρχος*. V. 828.

29. In the Attic poets probably *μέλει* in the vocative is always a dissyllable. V. 945.

30. *Πρῶτος* is a more tragic word than *πρῶτον*. Gl. 2.

31. Words compounded of *ρόθος* were favorites with Æschylus, as *πολύρροθος*, *ταχύρροθος*, *επίρροθος*, *ἀλίρροθος*, *παλίρροθος*, &c. Gl. 7.

32. From *οἶμοι* is derived *οἰμάζω*, as, from *μῦ*, *μύζω*; from *ᾤ*, *ᾤζω*; [from *αἰ*, *αιάζω*; from *οἶ*, *οἷζω*; from *ἐλελεῦ*, *ἐλαλίζω*; from *ὀτοτοῖ*, *ὀτοτύζω*; from *αὔ*, *αὔω* and *αὔτιω*; from *φεῦ*, *φεύζω*; from *αὐοῖ*, *αὐάζω*]. *Οἰμωγή* is more frequently used than *οἰμωγμα*. Gl. 8.

33. When *ἔλλειπω* signifies deficio, absum, it requires a genitive; when it signifies omitto, it is followed by an accusative. Gl. 10.

34. *Πύργωμα* is a fortification, or a collection of *πύργοι*: just as *χαίτωμα* and *τρίχωμα* are a collection of *χαῖται* and *τρίχες*. Gl. 30.

35. *Πανώλεθος* has both an active and passive signification. Gl. 71.

36. The tragic writers use both *λαός* and its Attic form *λαῖός*. Gl. 80.

37. *Ἀμάχητος* is used but rarely for *ἄμαχος* and *ἀμέχνητος*. Gl. 85.

38. *Λύκειος*, an epithet of Apollo, is derived from *λυκή*, *diluculum*, whence the Latin *lux*. Gl. 133.

39. From the obsolete verb *λήκω* are derived the perfect *ἐλάακα* and the 2nd aor. *ἔλακον*. Gl. 141.

40. *Βρίθω* sometimes, though rarely, has an active signification, "to load." It is more generally used intransitively, "to be heavy." Gl. 141.

41. The tragic writers frequently used nouns in *ας*, as *λιθάς*, a heap or shower of stones, *νιφάς*, a shower of snow, *φυλλάς*, a heap of leaves, &c. Gl. 146.

42. *Στέγω*, sustineo, non admitto; and is properly said of a ship which is *water-tight*. Gl. 202.

43. *Ἐκηλός* is formed from the obsolete verb *ἔκω*, volo: as from *σιγάω* or *σιγω*, *σιγηλός*; from *αἰσχύνω*, *αἰσχυνηλός*; from *ὑψι*, *ὑψηλός*; from *βεβαίω*, *βεβηλός*. Gl. 224.

44. *Σαίνειν* is said of a dog who wags his tail and fawns: thence, to flatter. Gl. 379.

45. The penult of *ἄλύω* is short in Homer, and long in other Greek poets. In the *Odyssey*, I. 398. *ἄλύων* has the penult long, which would lead to the supposition that the passage where it occurs was not Homer's, though it is quoted by an old grammarian in Eustath. II. Z. p. 654, 55. Gl. 387.

46. The Greeks used *θανατηφόρος*, *λαμπαδηφόρος*, *νεσφετηλόγος*,

*χθονιφόρος*, and the like, instead of *θανατοφόρος*, &c. to avoid the concurrence of four short syllables. Gl. 415.

47. *Ἡ μὲν*, certe, is a formula of confirmation, used in case of an oath. Gl. 527.

48. Words ending in *ηστις* are very rare. Gl. 641.

49. *Στύγος*, odium, is frequently used by Æschylus, but very seldom by others. Gl. 650.

50. *Τρίω* is a Doric word, very seldom used by the tragic writers except in the aorist. Gl. 790.

51. Words compounded of *κότος*, were favorites with Æschylus. Gl. 804.

52. *Ὀλολυγμός* is a female cry or shriek. Gl. 825.

53. *Ἀλαλάω* strictly means, to raise the shout of triumph; sometimes simply *ejulo*. Gl. 951.

54. *Ἀδελφίος* nowhere occurs in the tragic writers except in the choral odes. Add. 537.

### AGAMEMNON.

1. *Κλαίω, καίω*, &c. were the more ancient Attic forms; for which, subsequent to the time of Æschylus, *κλάω, κάω*, &c. were used. V. 17.

2. *Ἐάλωκα* and *ἤλωκα* are both found in the best Greek writers; the former is more ancient, the latter, more modern Attic. V. 29.

3. It is doubtful whether *χρίμα* or *χρίσμα* is the better form. From *χρίω* (the first syllable being always long) was deduced *χριστός*, as from *χράομαι, χρηστός*. But the substantive was *χρήμα*; so from *χρίω, χρίμα*; from *κονίω, κόνιμα*; from *μηνίω, μνήμα*. V. 93.

4. Adjectives compounded of the dative *δορί*, or *δούρι*, retained the iota in composition, as *δορίκτητος, δουριάλωτος, δορίληπτος, δουριπετής, δοριμανής, δορίθηρατος, δορίμαργος*. But those which are formed from the accusative retain the *υ*, as *δορυφόρος, δορυσφόος, δορυξόος, δορύκρανός*. V. 115.

5. Diminutives of animals terminate in *ιδεύς*. V. 117.

6. *Τοιοῦτον* and *τοσοῦτον* are the Attic forms of the neuter gender: *τοιούτο* and *τοσοῦτο* the Ionic. V. 306.

7. The Attics said *διακονεῖν* rather than *δικονεῖν*. V. 310.

8. *Εὖ σέβειν θεούς*, and *εὐσεβεῖν εἰς θεούς* differ: the former signifies, duly to worship the gods; the latter, to conduct oneself piously towards the gods: the latter cannot have an accusative after it except with a preposition. V. 329.

9. The Attics used *ἀλίσκομαι* in the present, and adopted the

other tenses from ἀλώω, whence also ἀναλώω. Wherefore the optative should be written ἀλάην, as βιάην, δάην, and the like. V. 331.

10. Ὅπως ἂν does not precede the optative, except in the sense of *quo maxime modo*. When ὅπως signifies *ut*, it requires the subjunctive with, or the optative without ἂν. V. 357.

11. Ἦτοι is not used by the tragic writers for *sane*, unless followed by ἄρα or ἂν. V. 462.

12. In solemn appeals, such as Hom. Il. E. 116.

Εἴ ποτέ μοι καὶ πατρὶ φίλα φρονέουσα παρέστης  
Διῆτο' ἐν πολέμῳ, νῦν αὖτ' ἔμμε φίλαι, Ἀθήνη.

Εἴ ποτε is more frequently used than εἰ ποῦ. V. 503.

13. Δρόσοι κατεψέκαζον, ἔμπεδον σίνος  
'Εσθημάτων, τιθέντες ἔνθηρον τρέχον.

Here the young scholar will remark that the masculine participle τιθέντες agrees with the feminine noun δρόσοι; of which anomaly perhaps no other instance can be found in the Attic poets, except in the case of animals. V. 544.

14. Πῶς ἂν with the optative frequently signifies *utinam* in Euripides, much more rarely in the other tragic writers, perhaps never in Æschylus. V. 605.

15. Γάρ is frequently used in interrogative sentences [and may be translated by, what?]. V. 613.

16. Διαί, ἀπαί, and ὑπαί, occur in the Greek poets for the more common forms διαί, ἀπό, and ὑπό. V. 865.

17. Θυραῖος is said of a person even in the feminine gender: θυραία of a thing in the same gender. V. 1022.

18. The penult of πληθύω is short; of πληθύνω, long. V. 1341.

19. The primary meaning of δίκη was probably *likeness, similitude*: whence δίκηλον, *an image*; and δίκην, for κατὰ δίκην, *instar*, like. Gl. 3.

20. Βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσση is a well-known proverb, and said of those who being bribed do not mention those things which they ought to disclose, and then applied to others who through fear or dread of punishment dare not speak out freely. The origin of the proverb may probably have been derived from the custom among the ancients of holding in their mouth the coins which they received in the sale of their wares. A similar phrase occurs, Cæ. C. 1051. χρυσία κλεῖς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ βέβακον. Gl. 35.

21. According as friendship, hospitality, an oath, [supplication], companionship, or purification, was referred to, Jupiter was invoked by the title of φίλιος, ξένιος or ἐφέστιος, ὀρκιος, [ιξένιος], ἑταιρῖος, or καθάρσιος. Gl. 60.

22. Such expressions as ἔστι δ' ὅπη νῦν ἔστι, are used where a

speaker alludes to an unpleasant subject, and thus briefly dismisses it. Gl. 66.

23. It was the custom of the poets, when they made use of a trope somewhat too bold, immediately to subjoin an epithet in order to limit and define its meaning. In the P. V. 828. Æschylus calls *Γρύπας, Ζηῆος κύνας*; but he corrects the metaphor in some degree by adding *ἀκραγυῖς*, "dogs indeed, but not barking dogs." Sept. Theb. 64. he calls an army *κῦμα*, but adds *χερσαῖον*. Ibid. 82. dust is called a messenger, but *ἀναυδος*. Ibid. 856. he calls Charon's boat *θεωρίδα*; but immediately adds *τὴν ἀστιβῆ ᾧ πολλῶνι*, to distinguish it from the true *θεωρίς*. Gl. 81.

24. The origin of *ὦ*, *εὐοῖ*, and similar exclamations, is not to be sought in the Greek language, but in that of the nation, to which Greece owes its mythology, sc. the Egyptian. Gl. 144.

25. *Πέρα* is the dative of the obsolete, *πέρη, πήρας, πέρα, πέραν*; and hence the reason why the last syllable is long. Gl. 183.

26. *Ἀνδρῶν, γυναικειῶν, [παρθενῶν]*, &c. were elliptic expressions originally for *ἀνδρῶν, γυναικῶν, [παρθένων]* (*θάλαμος*) whence the genitive came into use for the nominative. Gl. 235.

27. The participle of the perfect passive is frequently used actively, as *πεπυσμένος, ῥηκισμένος, ἐξηρπασμένος, πεφραγμένος, ἐκκεκομισμένος, ἀνακεκομισμένος, ἀποδεδειγμένος*, &c. Gl. 252.

28. *Ἄριστον* was the first meal which the ancients took in the morning, and generally about the third hour. Philemon, however, asserts that the meals were *ἀκράτισμα, ἄριστον, ἐσπέρισμα*, and *δεῖπνον*. Gl. 322.

29. *Λόγχιμος, ad hastam pertinens*. Similar forms are *ἔχθιμος, ποίνιμος, δόκιμος, πόμπιμος, τροφίμος, ἀρπάγιμος, κάρπιμος, μόνιμος, παραμόνιμος, συναγωγίμος, ἄλκιμος, κάλλιμος, κύδιμος, ἀφέλιμος, αἰδιμιος*. Verbal adjectives in *ιμος* are of a different class, as *ἀλώσιμος*, and have a certain middle signification between the active and passive. Gl. 395. and Gl. 9.

30. *Ῥίμφα*, celeriter, is derived from *ρίμπτω*, the Ionic form of *ρίπτω*; whence *ριμφάλεος* and *ριμφάρματος*. With the same variety, the Ionians, i. e. the Hellenes, said *χρίμπτω* for *χρίπτω*, and *λάμψομαι* for *λήψομαι*. Gl. 397.

31. In compounds from *δρος*, the Ionic form *οὔρος* is retained in *ξύνουρος, ἄπουρος, πρόσουρος, τηλουρός*, which is not the case in *δρορος*. Gl. 478.

32. *Ἀναινομαι*, to deny, is joined with a participle of the person speaking. Gl. 566.

33. Adjectives masculine are sometimes found with feminine substantives, as *Τύχη σωτήρ, χερὲς πράκτωρ, πειθὼ βέλκτωρ*. Gl. 647.

34. *Γνῶθλον* is a word only used by the poets. Gl. 757.
35. It is doubtful whether the form *χαίνω* in the present is found in the more ancient Greek writers. Gl. 898.
36. "Solebant veteres ante cibum νήσασθαι manus, et post cibum ἀπονίψασθαι, teste Polluce, quem Stanleius advocavit." Gl. 1004.
37. *Σφαγεῖον*, the vessel which received the blood of victims. [Victima tamen, Troad. 742.] Gl. 1060.
38. *Κέλομαι*, though frequent in Homer, seldom occurs in the tragic writers. Gl. 1088.
39. *Ἐποπτεύω*, inspecto, is a word frequently used by Æschylus, but not by the other tragic writers. Its proper signification, at least in Attic Greek, is to behold the mysteries. Gl. 1241.
40. *Εὐμαρής*, facilis, is formed from an old word *μάρη*, a hand; as from *χείρ*, *εὐχερής*. Gl. 1297.
41. *Πάσσομαι*, vescor, in which sense it is used only in the aorist, and joined with an accusative or genitive. The simple form was *πάω*, whence *πατέω*, and *pasco*: *πάσασθαι*, vesci, has the first syllable *short*; *πάσασθαι*, possidere, has the first syllable *long*. Gl. 1380.
42. *Ἔως*, when it signifies *quamdiu*, and is joined to the perfect, or when with the present it signifies *dum*, does not take the particle *ἄν*: as often as it means *donec*, it requires *ἄν* and the subjunctive mood, or the optative without *ἄν*. Gl. 1410.
43. The plural number [when used for the singular] increases the force of the sentence, whether it be sarcasm or panegyric. Gl. 1414.
44. There is frequent mention of stoning in the ancient writers: which species of punishment was employed by the people when excited by sudden indignation, because stones always lay at hand. Gl. 1606.
45. *Μογέω* is an Homeric word, less frequently used by the tragic writers, with whom the more common word is *μοχθίω*. The primitive root was *μόω* (whence *moveo*, by an increase in the number of syllables, and the insertion of the digamma). Hence *μοερός*, *μωρός*, *mobilis*, (whence *ἰόμωρος*, *ἐγχεσφόμωρος*, *ὕλακόμενος*), *μόγισ*, *μόγος*, *μόχθος*, &c. Gl. 1614.
46. Words ending in *ίτης* may be called *locals*; as *δαματίτης*, *χωρίτης*, *εδρίτης*, *εσπερίτης*, &c. Gl. 1640. 941. 47.

## CHOEPHORCE.

1. It may be doubted whether the future of *ἀνάσσω* occurs at all in the Attic poets. V. 125.

2. Ὅπως μὴ, with the future indicative and with the aorist subjunctive, is correct, and therefore there can be no reason why both forms should not be used in the same sentence. V. 260.

3. The first syllable of δαίτω is common in Æschylus, after the example of Homer. V. 390.

4. The particles καὶ δὲ are perhaps never joined with the optative. V. 557.

5. The Greeks said, not πολλὰ δεινὰ, but πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ. V. 578.

6. If τίς ἂν ἀγκαλέσαιτο; (Agam. 989.) τίς ἂν ταῦτα πίθοιτο; (Theb. 1068.) τίς ἂν εὖξαιτο; (Agam. 1312.) &c. be right, τίς λέγοι; cannot be correct. V. 586.

7. A short vowel before a mute with a liquid may be made long in the choral metres. V. 597.

8. Εἶκασα is the more ancient, ἥκασα the more modern Attic. V. 623.

9. Εἶεν ἀκούω. The lengthening of a short syllable in this place cannot be defended, unless perhaps it was the usual form of the porter's answer; εἶεν ἀκούω. V. 645.

10. When any one to a question πῶς so answers as to doubt of the question, the reply is made by ὅπως. The same rule applies to τίς, ποῖ, and the like. V. 755.

11. The particles ἀλλ' ἢ are used at the head of interrogative sentences. V. 762.

12. The tragic writers always used πύλη in the plural. V. 866.

13. Φίλτατ' Αἰγίσθου βία. This is the only instance of the circumlocution, βία τινος, joined with an adjective masculine. [Most probably a comma should be placed after φίλτατ', and then there will be no necessity to have recourse to the σχῆμα πρὸς τὸ σημαυνόμενον.] V. 880.

14. Οὐ μὴ with the future indicative *forbids*, with the aorist subjunctive denies. V. 882.

15. The Greeks did not use αὐτὸν for ἱμαντὸν, though they said αὐτοῦς for ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. V. 1001.

16. Κατέρχομαι signifies to return, as an exile, into his country. Gl. 3.

17. The Greeks, when they attained to the age of puberty, used to cut off their hair, and consecrate it to Apollo κουροτρόφος, and to rivers. Theseus commenced the custom, for he consecrated to Delian Apollo the hair which he cut from the fore part of his head. Gl. 6.

18. Τίς is sometimes used for πᾶς τις, unusquisque. Gl. 53.

19. Φάσκω, dictito, differs from φημί, as βάσκω from βῆμι, διδράσκω from δεῖμι, γινώσκω from γνῶμι, [χάσκω from χᾶω], and



the like. The termination *σκω* denotes repetition of the action. Gl. 87.

20. *Τόξα* in the plural almost always is put for a single bow in the tragic writers. Gl. 155.

21. *Ἐκεῖ* sometimes signifies, *apud inferos*. Gl. 353.

22. *Æschylus* was partial to words compounded of *κάμνω*, as *δορικμής*, *ἀνδροκμής*, &c. Gl. 359.

23. Feminine nouns ending in *τρια* are derived from masculines in *ης*, as *πολεμιστρια* from *πολεμιστής*, *ἀγύρτρια* from *ἀγυρτής*, *φαιδρύντρια* from *φαιδρυντής*. Gl. 418.

24. *Χαίρειν* is construed with a participle of the verb expressive of the action with which one is delighted. Gl. 442.

25. *Οὐθαε*, *uber*, peculiar to the other animals; *μαστὸς* was applied to women. Gl. 526.

26. *Ὅπλα* denotes any kind of instruments. Gl. 537.

27. *Ποδαπὸς*, *cujas*, is formed from the ancient pronoun *πὸς*, and the substantive *δάπος*, the ground. Gl. 567.

28. *Πίρομαι* is the ancient future for *πίσομαι* from *πίω*. *Aristophanes* has *πίεται*, the first syllable being long, Eq. 1286. 1398. The more recent form is *πιούμαι*. *Theocritus*, vii. 69. has the first syllable of *πίρομαι* short. Gl. 570.

29. *Κίω*, *vado*, is an Homeric word, not used by *Sophocles* or *Euripides*; and from it is derived *κινέω*. Gl. 668.

30. *Ὅπισθόπος*, *pedissequa*, for *ὀπισθόπους*, as *ἀελλόπος*, *Οἰδίπος*, *πουλύπος*, for *ἀελλόπους*, *Οἰδίπους*, *πολύπους*. Gl. 701.

31. The Attics said with the Dorics *διψῆν* and *πεινῆν* for *διψᾶν* and *πεινᾶν*: but this did not extend to the third person singular of the present indicative [probably because there would have been a confusion between the indicative and subjunctive moods]. Gl. 744.

32. *Ἄνω*, *perficio*, has the penult long in the present, and short in the 2nd aorist. Gl. 786.

33. *Δνοφερὸς*, *tenebricosus*. Except *δνόφος*, *δνοπαλίζω*, and *δνόψ*, no Greek word begins with *δν*. Gl. 797.

34. *Eustathius*, Il. Δ. 467, 44. derives *ἔλεγχος* from *ἐλεῖν ἔγχος*, because most subjects of dispute were decided by arms. This etymology is much more probable than another given in the same place, *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλεῖν ἔγχος*. For *ἔλεγχος*, the grasping of the spear to decide a dispute, was the same as the *proof by battle* with the Teutonic nations, and hence it signified any proof; and, by an easy transition, it denoted argument, re-proof, insult. Gl. 838.

35. Of words ending in *στερής*, some have a passive signification, as *πατροστερής*, *δμματοστερής*, *βιοστερής*, *ἡλιοστερής*; and some

an active, as ἀργυροστερής, δρυματοστερής, (Eum. 938.) ἡλιοστερής (C. C. 314.). Gl. 989. and 247.

36. Names of winds ending in *las* are formed from other names. Gl. 1054.

## NOTICE OF

ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ἙΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΗΣ.  
*THESAURUS GRÆCÆ LINGUÆ*; Ab H.  
 STEPHANO constructus. *Editio Nova auctior et*  
*emendatio. Pr. 41l. Londini: in Ædibus Valpian-*  
*is. 1816-1828.*

THE GREEK THESAURUS by the recent publication of the INDEX is now complete in 39 Nos., and we congratulate the editors on the termination of such a stupendous undertaking, carried on amidst much and serious difficulty, though with much aid from private individuals. We may also congratulate scholars in general on the completion of a work, which, whatever may be its imperfections, will nevertheless be found to be an immense storehouse of valuable information on *Greek Lexicography*. We need not enter into any panegyric on the merits of the original work, which are sufficiently known. It is the crowning achievement of HENRY STEPHENS, and perhaps in point of general lexicographical excellence, (notwithstanding its errors of omission and commission,) is the first work in any language; and assuredly there is no Greek Lexicon, which can exhibit any, even remote, pretensions to a comparison with it. The most accurate and the most learned Greek Lexicon now in use is that by Schneider, in 2 vols. 4to. with a Supplement; but this Lexicon is very imperfect indeed, and its excellence consists only in particular articles, with which Schneider himself had taken great pains, and especially in the explanations of natural history and of scientific terms. All scholars, who wish to study the Greek language grammatically and philosophically, should have recourse to the THESAURUS of HENRY STEPHENS. From this vast fountain Hemsterhuis, Ruhrken, and Valckenaer, derived much of their great and correct learning. The work from its magnitude is necessarily expensive, and therefore is not within the compass of every pocket; but every school and college-library, and every other public and good private library, should be provided with a copy, which will thus be accessible to the young student.

It is not our intention to enter into any critical examination of the manner in which the editors of the *Thesaurus* have executed their Herculean task; but we propose to set before our readers, many of whom may not have access to the work, the *Dedication*, *Preface*, and *Contents*, which are prefixed to the INDEX-Volume. The *Preface* will point out the principal *Ms.* resources employed by the editors in the improvement of the original work, and as the literary characters of the contributors are sketched, it may be read with some little interest. The INDEX to so voluminous a work is of course extensive; but the editors have constructed it on a plan best calculated to save room, and we think it right to mention that by the great pains which they have taken to specify the several instances, which occur in the work, of words confounded in Greek *Mss.*, they have done a most acceptable and important service to the critical scholar, which could hardly have been expected from them. When any critic wishes to fortify his conjectural reading of a passage by showing that the *substituted* word is often confounded in Greek *Mss.* with the *rejected* word, he will in many cases find in this INDEX references to pertinent examples.

*Dedication.*—"Gulielmo Wyndham Grenville, Baroni de Grenville, qui suas Athenas, alumnus, moribus, ingenio, doctrina, cancellarius, fide, gravitate, beneficiis, ornavit; qui, dum rerum Britannicarum summam administrabat, regis honorem et dignitatem, patriæ salutem et decus vindicavit et confirmavit; et, quantum in ipso fuit, concordiam inter cives, et æquabilia jura, conciliavit; hoc opus, illius consilio susceptum, liberalitate adjutum, patrocinio perfectum, tantorum meritorum, tantæ laudis, virtutisque, rite memor, summa observantia D. D. D. A. J. VALPY."

*Preface.*—"Jamque opus exegimus, magnum sane atque haud scimus an ex humanis operibus longe maximum. Per quindecim saltem annos, grande mortalis ævi spatium, onus Ætna gravius nobis videmur sustinuisse, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus adolescentes ad juventutem venimus. Hic profecto dies lætissimus nobis illuxit; diu servitutem perpessi sumus; recuperatam libertatem nobis gratulamur. Haud male cecinit doctorum quondam doctissimus, Josephus Scaliger:

Si quem dura manet sententia judicis olim,  
 Damnatum ærumnis supplicisque caput:  
 Hunc neque fabrili lassent ergastula massa,  
 Nec rigidas vexent fossa metalla manus:  
 Lexica contexit; nam cetera quid moror? omnes  
 Pœnarum facies hic labor unus habet.

"In uno nimirum Indice conficiendo tres anni elapui sunt. Nihil enim laboriosius molestiusque ista provincia fingi aut excogitari

potest, in qua oculus et manus potius quam mens atque animus diligentia et industria potius quam ingenium et doctrina postulatur; ad quam suscipiendam scriba potius quam scriptor exigendus est. Qui igitur ad vastissimum Indicem conficiendum se accinxerit, ille mare profundum et immensum se transire sciat, in portum aliquando non nisi ex longissima navigatione perventurum. Horæ quidem cedunt, et dies, et menses, et anni, at interea usque agitur ratis; magna spes eum tenet, at de spe conatuque depellitur; iterum atque sæpius sperat et bono animo est, dum spes ipsa eum deserat, et incertus tanquam in obscura caligine et nocte perpetua feratur.

"J. F. BOISSONADIUS Parisiensis, Professor Græcæ Linguae celeberrimus, eminet inter eos, qui opem auxiliumque nobis tulerunt. Vir ille elegantissimo ingenio præditus, in omnibus humanitatis ac literarum studiis versatus, Græcis ac Latinis doctrinis pereruditus, ex Patribus Ecclesiasticis, ex Grammaticorum operculis, atque omnino ex auctoribus, qui vel nondum impressi latent in Bibliotheca Regia, vel quanquam editi sunt, tamen propter raritatem atque adeo caritatem in manibus eruditorum non sunt, multa millia vocabulorum voluntate benignissima summaque diligentia jampridem eruerat ad **THESAURUM STEPHANIANUM** augendum.

"Magnas quoque gratias et agimus et habemus J. B. GAILLO, Parisiensi Professore, viro humanissimo, tum in aliis literis, tum in grammaticis exercitato, pro quorundam vocabulorum interpretationibus, de quibus minus recte statuerant Henricus noster Stephanus et alii lexicographi;—JOANNI SEAGERO Anglo, viro quem doctrina liberalis et maxime philosophia delectat, pro magna vocabulorum et locutionum multitudine, ex Platone, Aristotele, Tragicis, atque aliis scriptoribus Græcis depromptarum, et luculenter et acute expositarum;—JOANNI SCHWEIGHÆUSERO, clarissimo Argentoratensi Professore, viro optimo, singulari comitate prædito, philologo diligentissimo et doctissimo, in quo jam seniori viget, et usque ad finem vitæ vigeat studium politionis humanitatis et Græcarum literarum, pro annotationibus ipsius utilissimis in **THESAURUM STEPHANIANUM** et Brunckii manu scriptis in *Scapulae Lexicon*;—HENRICO ARENTIO HAMAKERO, Professore Leidensi, viro linguarum orientalium cognitione præclaro, qui nobis L. C. Valckenærii annotationes in ejusdem *Scapulae Lexicon* impertivit, quibus usi sumus in priori parte **THESAURI STEPHANIANI**;—JOANNI FRIDERICO SCHLEUSNERO, Lexicis in Novum et Vetus Testamentum utilissimis magnam laudem consecuto, qui vocabulorum quorundam explicationes et libros annotationum in Suidam, Hesychium, aliosque veteres lexicographos nobiscum communicavit;—JOANNI LOVEDAY Armigero, pro exemplari **THESAURI STEPHANIANI**, ad cujus marginem THOMAS GATAKERUS, nomen inter eruditos clarum et venerabile, multa vocabula scrip-

serat, exquisitaque sua doctrina explicaverat;—ADAMO ASKEVIO Armigero, pro Lexico manu exarato, in quo continentur vocabula ex Theophrasto, Hippocrate, Galeno, aliisque medicis Græcis depromta, et quod bibliothecam patris sui, medici celeberrimi et viri humanissimi, locupletaverat;—et MARTINO JOSEPHO ROUTHIO, viro reverendissimo, singulari et præstantissima virtute, cui ætatis pure et eleganter actæ placida ac levis incedit senectus, in quo literarum studium adhuc floret, οὐδὲ γηράσκει, et quem, omni laude ingenii ac doctriæ cumulatam, semper sumus admirati, semperque amavimus, pro *Hedericiano Lexico*, cujus margini adscripserat perrara vocabula aut notabiles locutiones, quas legerat in Platone, Aristotele, Clemente Alexandrino, Epiphanio, aliisque scriptoribus Græcis.

“Præter magna hæc subsidia, ab initio operis nobis præsto fuerunt *Lexica* duo *Hedericiana* et *Hesychius* GILBERTI WAKEFIELDII, viri in primis acuti, disert, doctrinæ laude florentis; et cumulus ingentissimus vocabulorum, quæ ABRAHAMUS KALLIUS, ex Græcis scriptoribus tam vetustioribus quam recentioribus, mira industria collegerat, et quorum magnam partem nostros in usus exscripsit GULIELMUS ELBERLING Hafniensis, adolescens comissimus et doctissimus, qui et multa vocabula propria lectione notata ad *THESAURUM STEPHANIANUM* augendum contulit. GODOFREDO autem HERMANNO, qui inter eruditos facile est princeps, cujus acumen, judicium, et doctrinam omnes gentes suspiciunt et admirantur, et quem virtutibus egregiis præditum maxime amant discipuli sui et amici, agendæ quoque et habendæ sunt gratiæ, pro benevolentia erga nos et multis variisque officiis, præsertimque quod *Disputationem de Particula* “Α copiosam, subtilem, eruditam nobis miserit, quam Iudici præfixam Lector habet.

“Ex illis vero omnibus, qui consumserunt multum operæ ac laboris in re lexicographica, et quorum volumina manu scripta nobis licuit evolvere, maxima G. H. SCHÆFERO est habenda gratia, cujus *Lexica Hedericiana* et *Schneideriana* continent in marginibus innumerabilia vocabula et memorabilium locutionum uberrimam segetem. Redolet omnis fere pagina doctrinam illam summam, atque acumen ingenii subtilissimum, et judicium limatum et politum, quæ verum grammaticum, criticum, philologum exhibent, et quæ Bentleis Porsonisque esse propria clamarent omnia gymnasia atque omnes scholæ.

“Tandem aliquando opus finitum et in lucem proditum est. Habent vero Subscriptores nostri *THESAURUM STEPHANIANUM* non modo integrum, sed etiam innumeris additamentis auctum. Neque tamen est hic noster Thesaurus perfecte absolutus, sed qualem pro nostra ingenii et doctrinæ mediocritate conficere potuimus. Defectus saltem varios in *THESAURO STEPHANIANO* supplevimus; errores permultos sine dubio sustulimus; nec male, liceat nobis dicere, meriti sumus de republica literaria.

"Exoriaturo vero aliquis ingenio præstanti, eruditione perfecta, diligentiaque summa, cujus opus sub felicioribus auspiciis, in optimis temporibus, regio sumtu inchoatum, omnibus suis numeris et partibus expletum, universo eruditorum clamore et plausu comprobetur!"

**CONSPECTUS EORUM QUÆ IN HAC THESAURI  
STEPHANIANI EDITIONE CONTINENTUR.**

**HENRICI STEPHANI** Admonitio de Thesauri sui Epitome, quæ titulum Lexici Græco-Latini Novi præfert—Epistola Dedicatoria, et Epigrammata duo de Thesaurio Gr.—Catalogus Auctorum Græcorum, e quorum Scriptis Vocabula et loquendi Genera, eorum item unde Expositiones Vocabulorum aut loquendi Generum petita sunt in hoc Thesaurio Græcæ Linguæ—Scipionis Carteromachi Pistoriensis Oratio de Laudibus Literarum Græcarum—**M. Antonii Antimachi** de Literarum Græcarum Laudibus Oratio—**Conradi Heresbachii** Oratio in Commendationem Græcarum Literarum—**H. Stephani** ad Lectorem Epistola, seu Præfatio in suum Thesaurum Linguæ Græcæ—Excerpta ex **H. Stephani** Epistola, a. 1559. edita, qua ad multas multorum Amicorum respondet, de suæ Typographiæ Statu, nominatimque de suo Thesaurio Linguæ Græcæ—Excerpta ex **J. A. Fabricii** Bibliotheca Græca; Lexica Græco-Latina recentiorum—Excerpta ex **Vita H. Stephani** Secundi, a **Mic. Maître** conscripta—De Verbis Græcorum Mediis Commentationes **L. Kusteri**, **J. Clerici**, **S. Clarkii**, et **E. Schmidii**, recensuit, auxit, suamque adjecit **Chr. Wolle**; cum **Dresigii** et **Bowyeri** Notis—**P. P. M. Ogerius** de Linguæ Græcæ Affinitate cum Hebraica—**J. A. Ernesti** de Vestigiis Linguæ Hebræicæ in Lingua Græca Oratio—**LEXICON VOCUM PEREGRINARUM IN SCRIPTORIBUS GRÆCIS OBVIARUM**: in quo comprehenduntur:—Excerpta e **Chr. D. Beckii** Dissertatione de Lexicis Græcis et Latinis omnino, et recentissimis singulatim—**P. E. Jablonskii** Disquisitio de Lycaonica et aliis Linguis—**Fr. Guil. Sturzii** de Dialecto Macedonica et Alexandrina Liber—**P. E. Jablonskii** Glossarium Vocum Ægyptiarum, cum **J. Guil. Tewateri** Auctario—**L. C. Valckenærii** Dissertatio de Vocabulo *Bāpis*—**Spicilegium Vocum Ægyptiarum**: post **Jablonskium**, **Tewaterum**, et **Sturzum** collegunt Thesauri Stephaniani Editores—Addenda et Corrigenda in **Spicilegium Vocum Ægyptiarum**—**J. G. Dahleri** Lexicon Vocum Peregrinarum in Græcis Auctoribus, Glossographis maxime, obviarum—Vocabula a **Dahlero** prætermisssa—**THESAURUS LINGUÆ GRÆCÆ**, ab **H. Stephano** constructus—Addenda huic Thesaurio—**Godofredi Hermannii** Dissertatio de Particula \*Α—**Index Thesauri novi Stephaniani**.

**GLOSSARIA, ET ALIA OPUSCULA.**

**Cyrilli**, **Philoxeni**, aliorumque Veterum Auctorum Glossaria,

Græco-Latina et Latino-Græca, a Carolo Labbæo collecta, plurimis in locis ab Editoribus Thesauri Græci Stephaniani emendata.—Bon. Vulcanii Brug. Notæ et Castigationes in Glossaria utriusque Linguae—Colloquia duo Vetera Græco-Latina; Colloquium Scholasticum; Excerpta e Verweii Præfatione ad Novam Viam Docendi Græca—Niciarii Interrogationes et Responsiones; Carfilidis Interrogationes et Responsa; Responsa Sapientum—Præcepta in Delphis ab Apolline in Columna scripta secus Deum—Collectio Vorum, quæ pro diversa Significatione Accentum diversum accipiunt, Auctore Cyrillo, seu potius Philopono—Veteres Glossæ Verborum Juris, quæ passim in Basilicis reperiuntur, a Carolo Labbæo edita, cum Excerptis e Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca; Antonii Schultingii Præfatione, Additionibus e Libro Ms., Jos. Scaligeri et aliorum Emendationibus, et Notis ejusdem Ant. Schultingii—Hadriani Sententiæ, Responsa, Rescripta, et Epistolæ, cum Excerptis de Dositheo e Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca, et cum Goldasti Notis—Verborum quorundam Themata, quæ magna e parte vel sunt Anomala, vel Poetica, aut certe ejusmodi, ut non obviam cuilibet habeant Originem—De Græcæ Linguae Dialectis, e Scriptis Joannis Grammatici, quæ Τεχνικὰ fuerunt inscripta; De Dialectis a Corintho decerptis; E Plutarcho Excerpta de Dialectis, et Homérico earum Usu; Ex eodem Plutarcho Excerpta de Tropis, et Homérico eorum Usu; De Schematis, et Homérico eorum Usu, ex eodem Plutarcho—De Passionibus Dictionum, e Tryphone Grammatico; Ejusdem Opuscula quædam, e Museo Critico Cantabrigiensi, cum Notis C. J. Blomfieldii, Episcopi olim Cæstrensis, nunc Londinensis, excerptis e Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca—Herodiani de Notis Numerorum Tractatus—De Mensuris et Ponderibus, Libellus Galeni, e Collatione cum iis, quæ apud Paulum Ægin. et Schol. Nicandri leguntur, emendatus—De Mensibus et Partibus eorundem, cum Excerptis e Matthæi Glossariis Græcis Minoribus—Ammonii de Similibus et Differentibus Vocabulis Libellus, cum Excerptis e Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca, Valckenærii Præfatione, Notis, et Animadversionibus integris; Nova Editio correctior, et Notis e Schæferi editione Lipsiensi A. D. 1822., atque ea, quam continet Scapulæ Lexicon Oxoniense A. D. 1820., depromptis aucta. Cui accesserunt e Valckenærii editione Opuscula Eranii Philonis de Differentia Significationis, Lesbouactis de Figuris Grammaticis, Anonymi de Solæcismo et Barbarismo, Lexicon de Spiritibus Dictionum, e Tryphone, Chærobosco, Theodorito, et aliis collectum, cum Notis e Schæferi editione atque Oxoniensi Scapulæ Lexici editione desumptis—Τάξις Παλαιὰ καὶ Ὀρογραφία τῶν Ἀρχόντων, secundum H. Stephani Editionem, Kusterianum Suidam, et Montefalconii Bibliothecam Coislinianam, e qua desumta sunt Ὀνόματα τῶν Ἀμάρων—Orbicii Περὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Σπάρτεμα Τάξεων—H. Stephani Commentarius de Atticæ Linguae seu Dialecti Idiomatis.

## NOTICE OF

**Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ: *The NEW TESTAMENT; with English Notes, Critical, Philological, and Explanatory. A New Edition, in 3 vols. 2l. 5s. London, 1826. 8vo. Longman.***

THIS edition was prepared by the REV. EDWARD VALPY, who has been for many years the Head-Master of Norwich School. It is dedicated to Dr. Bathurst, the venerable Bishop of Norwich, in the following terms:—"An edition of the New Testament should be dedicated to Virtue, Learning, and Piety, —to him, whose life is a fair transcript of the Christian character. I presume, therefore, my Lord, with sentiments of respect, regard, and gratitude, to present this edition to your Lordship; and I remain, my Lord, your Lordship's obliged and humble Servant, E. V."

The merits of this work, as originally published, were sufficiently appreciated by the literary public, and in its present state of improvement it has additional claims to their preference. The following *Advertisement* is short enough to be within the limits of quotation, and from it the reader will learn the principal alterations which distinguish this edition:—

"A writer in the *British Critic*, who reviewed the former edition of the Greek Testament, concluded his able and judicious criticism in these words: 'We wish well enough to this edition, for the sake of the notes, which we have scrutinised with some care, to hope that the editor may be induced to incorporate the text of the editio princeps in his second impression. Were this carefully effected, and the notes extended with copious extracts from the Bishop of Calcutta's profound and learned volume, which we place in the very first rank of those works with which sacred literature has been enriched by modern ingenuity, we could safely recommend it as the very best book of the kind, with which we are acquainted, for the use of the student in divinity.' In following this recommendation, the Editor has availed himself, to the utmost, of Bishop Middleton's work; as he has also of the assistance of other most eminent commentators and critics, in comparing, selecting, and adopting what he thought to be the true sense and the most satisfactory interpretation of each passage.

"One important departure from the former edition will be immediately perceived. As his primary and most important object was extensive usefulness and inducement to study the book of life, he determined, after mature consideration, to give the notes in English. In this he has followed the example of our most learned divines and critics, who in offering the result of their pious labors to the English student in divinity, did not think it necessary to adopt the Latin language, though consecrated by the usage of ancient, and of German, critics. Nor is there any fear that the language, however plain and



## Notice of Valpy's *New Greek Testament*. 157

simple, should, on such a sacred ground, be found to shock the most refined taste, or offend the judgment, of the most fastidious scholar.

"As the notes on St. Matthew are full and copious, there was less necessity in many instances, especially in the parallel passages, for the same extended mode of illustration, in the other Evangelists; but a frequent reference is made from the one to the other: and thus the student is induced to consult and to compare the whole body of annotations, and is thus enabled to fix more durably on his mind the result and fruit of his industry and research. Verbal criticism is also introduced, and observations on the Greek idiom from Vigerus, on the ellipses from Bos, and on the particles from Hoozeveer; with corrections, where it appeared necessary, of our venerated, but, in some instances, erroneous English version. Some imperfections will, it is feared, have insinuated themselves in the notes; but if pointed out or discovered, they shall be corrected or remedied, should a future impression be required. That the Lord may bless and prosper this Work, and that it may tend to the glory of God, by a greater diffusion of the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, is the Editor's most ardent prayer."

We doubt whether the editor has done sufficient justice to the superiority of this edition; for on examining the notes, we find that many quotations are given from Campbell, Gilpin, Doddridge, Hales, Harmer, Shaw, Townson, Whitby, and others, which do not appear in the first edition. We have examined several of the notes, and can speak with confidence of the editor's taste and judgment, knowledge and research. Pertinent matter has been collected with great care; and throughout the work the object of the editor has been to set before his readers useful information from every available source, not to display his own ingenuity by fanciful and recondite interpretations, or to make a parade of his learning by frequent and elaborate and unnecessary quotations. The young divine will find this work not only a *safe* guide in his studies, but the *best* guide which he can obtain within the compass of the same price and size.

On *Matth.* xiii. 31. the editor has the following note:—"Lightfoot and Buxtorf quote from the writings of the Rabbies, that a species of the *sinapi* rose to the size of a tree. See also Scheuchzer *Phys. Sacr.* R. Simeon said, 'I had in my ground a mustard-plant, into which I was wont to climb, as one may climb up into a fig-tree.' *Hieros.* p. 7. f. 20. 2."

The account of the mustard-tree in Dr. Harris's *Natural History of the Bible*, Lond. 1824, p. 274, is this:—"A well-known garden-herb. Christ compares the kingdom of heaven to 'a grain of mustard-seed, which a man took and sowed in the earth; which indeed,' said he, 'is the least of all seeds, but, when it is grown, is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.' This expression will not seem strange, says Sir Tho-

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mas Browne; if we recollect that the mustard-seed, though it be not simply and in itself the smallest of seeds, yet may be very well believed to be the smallest of such as are apt to grow into a ligneous substance, and become a kind of tree. He observes, likewise, that the parable may not ground itself on generals, or imply any or every grain of mustard, but point at such a peculiar grain as from its fertile spirit and other concurrent advantages has the success to become arboreous. The expression also that it might grow into such dimensions, that birds might lodge on its branches, may be literally conceived, if we allow the luxuriance of plants in India above our Northern regions. And he quotes on this occasion, what is recorded in the Jewish story, of a mustard-tree that was to be climbed like a fig-tree. The Talmud also mentions one, whose branches were so extensive as to cover a tent; (see on this subject Lightfoot's *Hebr.* and Talm. *Exerc.* in *loc.*, Tremell. in *loc.*, Raphael. *Annot. ex Herod.* 163. and Doddridge's *Fam. Expos.*) Without insisting on the accuracy of this, we may gather from it that we should not judge of Eastern vegetables by those which are familiar to ourselves. Scheuchzer describes a species of mustard which grows several feet high, with a tapering stalk, and spreads into many branches. Of this *arborescent* or *tree-like* vegetable he gives a print (*Phys. Sacr.* 8, 59. *tab. DCLXXXIII.*); and Linnæus mentions a species, whose branches were real wood, which he names *sinapi erucoides*."

From the above quotation the editor may improve his note, when a third edition is called for; and we have no doubt that a book so useful and commodious for the student will get into greater circulation.

This edition is accompanied with references and extracts from Bishop Middleton's profound and learned treatise on the *Greek Article*, as applicable to the criticism and illustration of the New Testament; and this cannot fail to render it, valuable as it is, still more valuable. Mr. VALPY has also recently printed an epitome of the Bishop's own admirable work, to serve as an accompaniment to this edition; containing in each rule by the side of each classical example a correspondent parallel scriptural illustration from some well-known passage in the New Testament; containing also various additional remarks, and particularly Mr. Granville Sharp's Canon. The purchasers of this edition of the New Testament with English notes have now, therefore, an opportunity of adding to it what we consider a valuable improvement, and at a trifling expense, a plain and concise view of the principles and canons on which the important doctrine of the Greek article is founded.

**OXFORD LATIN PRIZE POEM,  
FOR 1775.**

**ALFREDUS.**

Isis ubi lambit sæcundo flumine lucos  
Pieridum fortunatos, dilectaque Phœbo  
Atria, et exstructas sinuoso in margine turres;  
Hic deserta olim, nulloque nitentia cultu,  
Prata, udosque agros, limosa obduxit arundo;  
Vixque inter steriles juncos, ulvamque palustrem,  
Lentis obscuræ serpebant flexibus undæ.

Huc forte Alfredus gressum tulit, arvaque circum  
Miratus, glebam irriguam et viridantia Tempe,  
Tempe, quæ sylvæ cingunt superimpedentes,  
“Hic,” inquit, “profugæ secreto in littore Musæ  
Optatam inveniant sedem, gratoque fruuntur  
Hospitio, et tacita securæ in valle quiescant;  
Nec locus ullus erit, quo se plus jactet Apollo.”  
Pascua continuo micuere per avia turres;  
Ipsa Isis vitreis nitidum caput extulit undis,  
Suspiciensque novas arces, insuetaque templa,  
Venturos læta præsumit mente triumphos,  
Culinaque artificem Wrenni referentia dextram.

Nec tamen infausto posuisti has omine sedes,  
Sancte pater, nec spes animum frustrata refellit!  
Cernis, ut attollunt vivaces vertice lauros,  
Egregii vates, et Phœbo digna locuti,  
Quique omnes sophiæ norunt decerpere flores.  
Ipse agmen, cunctis sublimior, ordine longo  
Chaucerus ducit; prisco dum pectine cantat  
Cristatas turmas, equitesque hastilibus aptos,  
Sive levis pangit fabellas rite facetas,  
Angliacumque aperit felici carmine Pindum.  
Quis procul ille<sup>1</sup> autem, solus, qui in valle reducta,  
Lentior incedit, defigens lumina terræ?  
Hic animæ latebras princeps patefecit opertas,  
Unde illa innumeros motus, ratione magistra,  
Induat, unde ortu dubio primum insita menti  
Cognitio explicuit vires, tenebrisque refusis  
Clara per obscurum prætendit lumina callem.

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<sup>1</sup> Locke.

Hunc olim Rhedycina canet, quotiesque recenset  
 Grata suos, celebresque memor per sæcula cives,  
 Insignem ante alios felix memorabit alumnus.  
 Nec te, Castalidum proles<sup>1</sup> lectissima, plectro  
 Musa ingrata silet, cui fontes ipsa reclusit  
 Integros Pallas, facilisque indulsit Apollo,  
 Musæoque dedit contingere dicta lepore.

At neque dilectis solum penetralia Musis  
 Condidit Alfredus, soli sua limina Phæbo;  
 Jura etiam, sapiens et servantissimus æqui,  
 Edocuit, quaque est stabilis res publica norma:  
 Quin artes, fautore illo, subiere repente  
 Ignotæ; tum nauta vagus dare vela patenti  
 Ausus erat pelago, atque alienas quærere terras;  
 Contemnensque æquor tumidum victricia classis  
 Arma tulit late, Danis dominata fugatis,  
 Et patrium advexit peregrina in regna Draconem.  
 Quinetiam artifices externa e gente profecti  
 Illius accitu coëunt; pars mœnibus urbes  
 Cingere, solertique manu superaddere formas  
 Spirantes, vivosque excudunt marmore vultus;  
 Dum calamo interea varioque colore figuras  
 Mentitur veras et ludit arundine pictor.  
 Nec minus in bello virtus, insigniit hosti  
 Parcentem victo, debellantemque ferocem:  
 Nani neque ventoso tulit hunc in prælia curru  
 Ambitio, neque regnandi tam dira cupido  
 Impulit infando vicina lacessere regna  
 Marte; sed infidi cum fœdus rumpere Dani  
 Auderent, nutu novit componere bellum,  
 Et conjuratis potuit dare jura tyrannis.

O! quis me ducet qua Faringdonia clivo  
 Assurgit viridi, sublimi a vertice montis  
 Lætus ubi intentos pascens per singula visus  
 Explorare humiles campos, subjectaque possim  
 Mœnia, et eductas non nullo numine turres!  
 Hic ulmos inter patulas caput erigit alma  
 Alfredi nutrix Wantagia: sæpe sub umbra  
 Hac puer, agresti meditatus arundine musam;  
 Sæpe hanc ad lympham, subductæ in margine ripæ,  
 Parvulus incerto se lusu exercuit heros.  
 Colle ex adverso candenti e rupe minacem

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<sup>1</sup> Addison.

Surgere equum, rudibusque notis expressa videbis  
Tendere terga solo, longoque albescere tractu.  
Hic olim stravit duro certamine Danos  
Alfredus, postquam defessa Britannia longo  
Servitio, imperiumque pati plagasque superbas  
Victoris nollet, rursusque reposceret arma.  
Hinc procul apparet felix Rhedycina, remotis  
Indiciis, media riguæ convallis in umbra ;  
Vixque acie possunt oculi servare domorum  
Tecta ; et cœruleis occultas nubibus ædes ;  
Has inter veneranda, immanique ardua mole,  
Radclivii stat pulchra domus, medioque superbit  
Ampla situ, qualis Vaticani inclyta sedes  
Erigitur cœlo, aut Capitoli immobile saxum  
Subjectam late prospexit desuper urbem.  
At prope moliri cernas nova culmina, eodem  
Radclivio fundante : viden', jam turris aperto  
Emicat aspectu, propriumque affectat Olympum.  
Et mox tempus erit, cum certa lege planetas  
Errantes, magni attentos ad jussa Parentis,  
Newtoni explorent alii, qui fœdera noscant  
Naturæ, arcanasque vias, ut menstrua luna  
Accendit sub nocte facem, radiisque relucet  
Oppositis, medio dum sol immotus in axe  
Igne indefesso fulget, cinctusque ministris  
Ipse regit seriem, et volventes ordinat annos.

Musarum augustæ sedes, sacrataque tecta  
Quæ cœlo æquavit pietas, et opima priorum  
Munera condecorant, salvete !—ut perculit ardor  
Cor mihi, dum recolo prisca monumenta laboris,  
Et decus antiquum, et tantæ primordia famæ !  
Tuque ! O sancta domus ! longaue ætate verenda,  
Cujus in hospitium, qua primum sede receptæ,  
Alfredo monstrante, choros duxere Camœnæ,  
Ante alias, salve ! celebrat dum musa patronum  
Communem, veterique refert hæc vota parenti ;  
Interea tu firma diu, longosque per annos  
Stes immota, novo surgentes vertice turres  
Conspiciens, sociosque lares circum undique cultu  
Magnifico, qualis patrii per limen Olympi  
Invehitur regina deum, turritaque tollit  
Tempora, et innumeros complectitur una nepotes.

*WARTON,*

COLL. TRIN.

## NOTICE OF

*PLATONIS, et quæ vel Platonis esse feruntur vel Platonica solent comitari, SCRIPTA GRÆCE OMNIA, ad Codices Manuscriptos recensuit, Variasque inde Lectiones diligenter enotavit, IMMANUEL BEKKER. Annotationibus integris Stephani, Heindorfii, Heusdii, Wytttenbachii, Lindavii, Boeckhiique, adjiciuntur modo non integræ Serrani, Cornarii, Thompsoni, Fischeri, Gottleberi, Astii, Butmanni, et Stalbaumi, necnon et Commentariis aliorum curiose excerpta. 11 vols. 7l. 14s. small paper, and 11l. 11s. large. London. Excudebat A. J. Valpy, A.M. sumtibus R. PRIESTLEY. 1826.*

AMONGST the numerous and useful publications undertaken by the enterprising spirit of Mr. R. Priestley, this edition of Plato may be fairly said to hold the first place. We are not ignorant that such an assertion will appear to some as the *ne plus ultra* of puffing. But he, who deems it (and what honest man does not?) a base dereliction of a moral duty to speak aught but the truth, will at all times and in all places disdain to withhold his opinion in deference to those little men of still less minds, who cannot hear praise freely and fully given to A, without the fear of giving offence to the feelings of B; and still less will he be disposed to yield to the prejudices of others, who can give the best reasons for the faith that is in him. Of these all-sufficient reasons, some have reference to the plan of the undertaking, and some to the execution. As far as regards the plan, to Mr. Priestley be all the honor given for the idea of presenting at one view and in the same page the most approved text, the fullest body of various readings, together with the most ample collection of Latin commentaries either intire or extracted, and of enriching the whole with the Greek Scholia, the Lexicon of Timæus, the Latin Translation of Ficinus; all preceded by Fischer's elaborate Prolegomena, containing the Life of the Philosopher, and a Literary History of his works whether extant or lost, together with a Bibliographical Notice<sup>1</sup> of Mss. Edi-

<sup>1</sup> From the value not undeservedly set on the *Notitia Literaria* of the Bipontine editors, we are sorry that no advantage has been taken in the present edition to incorporate that *Notitia* with Fischer's less perfect account.

## Notice of Variorum Edition of Plato. 163

tions and Translations; and thus forming the most desirable edition, that has yet appeared, of the remains of the mighty, magnificent, and immortal philosopher of Athens.

With regard to the manner, in which the plan of the projector has been put into execution, we will let the Editor<sup>1</sup> speak for himself by giving his preface intire; from which it will be seen that although not a little has been done and well, more might have been done and better, in the way rather of abridgment than amplification: so true is the sentiment of Hesiod, "Few know how much the half exceeds the whole."

In hac Editione quid præstitutum fuerit, paucis, Lector, accipe. Commoditatibus legentium unice consulitur. Igitur Textus, quod aiunt, et Annotationes ita comparantur, ut nihil fere, quod ad Platonica quivis intelligenda desideret, deesse videatur. Etenim Platonis ipsius verba recensio, quam Immanuel Bekker ope Codicum Manuscriptorum numero circiter octoginta fecit, hic repetita exhibet, emendatis subinde paucis iisdemque levioribus maculis, quas Editoris modo non oculatissimi incuria prætermisit. Deinde Commentarii, partim integri partim compendiose facti adjiciuntur, quibus et æris et temporis dispendium, utcuque immensum, postulantibus, carere tamen studiosus ægre tulit. Verum ne cui mole Annotationum onerari potius quam ornari Platonica viderentur, læge severa cautum fuit: ideoque e præstantioribus duntaxat Commentarii repetuntur integri; e reliquis vero seliguntur ea, quæ Platonica quodammodo decere, neque scriptores ipsos dedecere potuerint. In hac tamen parte non minimum fuisse laborem exantlandum quivis tuto colligere potest, catalogo librorum perfecto, unde sunt Annotationes decryptæ:

SERRAN. } ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΣΟΖΟΜΕΝΑ. Platonis Opera quæ ex-  
STEPH. } stant omnia. Ex nova Joannis Serrani Interpretatione, perpetuis  
ejusdem notis illustrata. Henr. Stephani de quorundam locorum inter-  
pretatione judicium, et multorum contextus Græci emendatio.  
1578, fol.

CORNAR.—Jani Cornarii Eclogæ in Dialogos Platonis omnes, nunc primum separ-  
ratim editæ, cura Joh. Frider. Fischeri. Lips. 1771, 8vo.

THOMPSON.—ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΑΔΗΣ, Η ΠΕΡΙ ΙΔΕΩΝ. Parmenides, sive de Ideis et  
Uno Rerum Principio. Platonis Dialogus. Oxon. 1728, 8vo.

FORSTER.—Platonis Dialogi quinque, Erastæ, Euthyphro, Apologia Socratis,  
Crito, Phædo. Oxon. 1745, 1762, 1765, 8vo.

ETWALL.—Platonis Dialogi III. quibus præfiguntur Olympiodori Vita Platonis  
et Albini in Dialogos Platonis Introductio. Oxon. 1771, 8vo.

FISCHER.—I. Platonis Euthyphro, Apologia Socratis, Crito, Phædo. Græce.  
Lips. 1768, 1779, 1783, 8vo.

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<sup>1</sup> The individual to whose care this edition was intrusted is, we understand, George Burges; a scholar, whose claims to the consideration of the learned were, as far as Plato is concerned, duly appreciated by the late and lamented Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, Peter Paul Dobree, who was accustomed to speak of this edition in the most flattering terms.

- FISCHER.—2. *Platonis Cratylus et Theætetus*. Lips. 1779, 8vo.  
 3. ——— *Sophista, Politicus, Parmenides*. Lips. 1779, 8vo.  
 4. ——— *Philebus et Symposium*. Lips. 1779, 8vo.  
 5. *Æchিনি Socratici Dialogi tres*. Græce. Lips. 1786, 8vo.
- GOTTLIEBER.—1. *Animadversiones ad Platonis Phædonem et Alcibiadem Secundum*. Lips. 1771, 8vo.  
 2. *Platonis Menexenus*. Lips. 1782, 8vo.
- MUELLER.—*Platonis Ion*. Hamburg. 1782, 12mo.
- ROUTH.—*Platonis Euthydemus et Gorgias*. Oxon. 1784, 8vo.
- BEPONT.—*Platonis Philosophi, quæ exstant*. Biponti, 1787, 8vo.
- BIESTER. } *Platonis Dialogi IV. Meno, Crito, Alcibiades uterque*. Berolini,  
 GEDIKE. } 1790, 8vo.
- RAABE.—*Specimen interpretandi Platonis Dialogi, qui Crito inscribitur*. Lips. 1791, 4to.
- NURNBERGER.—*Platonis Alcibiades Primus et Secundus*. Lips. 1796, 8vo.
- VINDEISEN.—*Platonis Gorgias*. Goth. 1796, 8vo.
- HEINDORF.—1. *Platonis Lysis, Charmides, Hippias Major, Phædrus*. Berolini, 1802, 8vo.  
 2. ——— *Gorgias et Theætetus*. 1805, 8vo.  
 3. ——— *Gorgias, Apologia Socratis, Hippias Major, Charmides*. Berolini, 1805, 8vo.  
 4. ——— *Cratylus, Parmenides, et Euthydemus*. 1806, 8vo.  
 5. ——— *Phædo, Sophista, et Protagoras*. 1810, 8vo.
- HEUSDE.—*Specimen Criticum in Platonem*. Lugd. Bat. 1803, 8vo.
- BOECKH.—1. *In Platonis, qui vulgo fertur, Minoëm; ejusdemque Libros priores de Legibus*. Halis Saxonum, 1806, 8vo.  
 2. *Simonis Socratici Dialogi*. Heidelb. 1810, 8vo.
- WYTTENBACH.—*Platonis Phædon*. Lugd. Bat. 1810, 8vo.
- AST.—1. *Platonis Symposium et Alcibiades I*. Landshut. 1809, 8vo.  
 2. ——— *Phædrus. Adjiçuntur Hermiæ Scholia nunc primum edita*. Lips. 1810, 8vo.  
 3. ——— *Politia. Accedunt Additamenta ad Commentarium in Phædrum*. Lips. 1814, 8vo.  
 4. ——— *Leges et Epinomis*. Lips. 1814, 8vo.
- FAHRER.—*Sylloge Lectionum Græcarum*. Lips. 1813, 8vo.
- LINDAU.—*Novum in Platonis Timæum et Critiam Conjecturarum atque Emendationum Specimen*. Vratislaviæ ad Viadrum, 1815, 8vo.
- BECK.—*Platonis Opera*. Lips. 1816, 12mo.
- STÜTEMANN.—*Plato de Philosophia, vel Dialogus, qui inscribitur EPAÏTAI*. Erlang. 1818, 8vo.
- STALBAUM.—1. *Platonis Philebus. Accesserunt Olympiodori Scholia nunc primum edita*. Lips. 1820, 8vo.  
 2. ——— *Euthyphro*. Lips. 1823, 12mo.
- LONGE.—*Specimen Criticum in Platonis Critonem*. Lips. 1821, 8vo.
- BUTMANN.—*Platonis Dialogi IV. Meno, Crito, Alcibiades uterque*. Berolini. 1822, 8vo.
- NIETZCH.—*Platonis Dialogus Ion*. Lips. 1822, 8vo.
- DINDORF.—*Platonis Convivium*. Lips. 1823, 8vo.
- GROEN-VAN-PRINSTERER.—*Prosopographia Platonica*. Lugd. Bat. 1823, 8vo.
- LOERS.—*Platonis Menexenus*. Colon. ad Rhen. 1824, 12mo.
- LOEWE.—*Platonis Crito, Græce, cum commentario perpetuo et pleno, in usum Juventutis Scholasticæ*. Lips. 1825.



Hæc Editionum Annotationumque merita singulatim expendere, neque temporis est hujus neque loci. Unum id dicere sufficit, quod e messe tam larga Commentariorum ne levissimum quidem spicilegium Editoribus relinquitur futuris, nisi quibus volupe fuerit, Herculei sanc laboris opus, materiam corrudere, ad Glossarium Platonicum conficiendum; quibus profecto subsidium hand exiguum daturi sunt Indices, tam Vocabulorum quam Dictionum, quos Forster, Etwall, Fischer, Findeisen, Butmann, Heindorf et Stalbaum struxerunt: quo quidem ornamento hæc Editio minime fuisset expers, si quis repertus esset ad munus illud obeundum par. Verum enimvero ætas *Διδύμων τῶν χαλκων-τέπων* jamjam præterlapsa est, heu! non reditura.

Præfatiunculam prius claudere nefas est, quam lector fuerit enixe rogatus, æquo animo tam commissæ quam omisæ ferre, si forte offenderit vel in voces aut nullo aut prave picto accentus signo notatas, vel in nomen Fischeri loco Forsteri aut versa vice suffectum, vel in alia cujuscunque generis peccata, quæ diligens lectio perspecta corriget, vel indiligens hand perspecta parum est curatura.

From the mere perusal of this list of commentators some idea may be formed of the pains which have been taken to render this edition valuable to the general reader; while to the more inquisitive scholar, who would otherwise be compelled to wade through volume after volume of endless annotations, it will be gratifying to learn that, in the *Phædo* for instance, the notes, which in other editions occupy upwards of 1000 octavo pages, are here compressed, without a single omission of importance, into a third of that space, and this too including the text and the body of various readings, which the industry of Immanuel Bekker<sup>1</sup> has collected from nearly every *Ms.* at present in existence.

As this publication professes to contain nothing original from the pen of the Editor himself, it is unnecessary to enter on a critical examination of the text and notes: on both of which much might be said, and especially in the way of admonition, to those who wish to know what Plato really wrote, to consult the various readings of the *Ms.* marked *v.* which, though one of the most modern, being said to be written in the 16th century, frequently alone preserves the very words of the author. Something might also be said of the intrinsic value of the Aldine, the second Basle, and H. Stephens' editions, and of the contemptible Bipont, which was once dignified by bibliographers with the title of *ed. opt.*: and not a little might be

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<sup>1</sup> A complaint has been made by some continental critics of the inaccuracy of Bekker's collation. But without entering on the justice of the accusation, it is sufficient to reply, that if the charge be true to its fullest extent, still enough and more than enough has been done by Bekker to demand and obtain the heartfelt thanks of every admirer of Plato.

added on the subject of the Mss. used respectively by Ficinus and Cornarius, and of other Latin translations, either anonymous, or those which pass under the name of Aretinus, and other well-known Italian writers; but on these points the want of room prevents us from stating all we wish; and to do it *perfunctorie*, befits neither the importance of the subject, the reader's intelligence, nor the credit of the writer.

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## NOTICES OF FOREIGN WORKS,

WHICH MAY BE HAD OF MESSRS. BLACK AND CO.

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*Prisciani Grammatici de Laude Imperatoris Anastasii et de Ponderibus et Mensuris Carmina. Alterum nunc primum, alterum plenius edidit et illustravit STEPH. LAD. ENDLICHER, Hungarus Posoniensis. Vindobonæ, 1828.*

A Palimpsest Codex, in the library at Vienna, which formerly belonged to the Convent of Bobbio in Lombardy, was found to contain a poem of Priscian, "*de Laude Imperatoris Anastasii*," hitherto unpublished. Mabillon had seen the Codex at Naples, in the Convent of St. Joan. de Carbonaria, where it had been transferred from Bobbio; and he makes mention of the poem (*Mus. Ital.* i. p. 110.); and some parts of it were published by the Jesuit Denis, librarian at Vienna in the time of Joseph II.: but he was deterred, by the difficulties attending the reading of it, from publishing the whole. The same Codex contains also another poem, "*de Ponderibus et Mensuris*;" of which an incomplete edition has already been published at Leipsic, in 1494, consisting of 162 verses and a half. The last edition of it, by J. C. Wernsdorf, (*Poët. Lat. Min.* Paris, 1825.) contains the same number of verses. The Vienna Codex contains the whole poem, in 208 verses. It belongs to the 7th or 8th century, and is written in Longobardic characters. Every doubt about the writer of the poem *De Laude Anastasii* is removed by the hypograph: "*Expliciunt laudes . . . dictæ a Prisciano Grammatico.*" The other poem has been ascribed to Rhemnius Fannius Palæmon, or to Remus Favinus.

The following verses form the preface to the poem *De Laude Anastasii*:—

Summi poetæ, quæ solent in versibus,  
Quos Imperatorum modulantur laudibus  
Proferre, cælum cum petunt et sidera  
Adversa naturæ sequentes impie,  
Tibi sciens, quod displicent nimis pio,  
Nihil nefandum, nil nisi verum loquar;  
Nam qui tribuit mortalibus cœlestia  
Sapientium damnatur arbitrio pari;  
Et si qua vere prædicat non creditur  
Cum falsa ceperit canens exordia.

Quare precor libenter audias tua  
 Quæ cuncta non ego potero producere,  
 Non mille dentur si mihi linguæ simul,  
 Fons ingeni si carmen effundens novum :  
 Sed parte ferre qua valeo pro viribus  
 Decerpta lucem conferat quæ cantibus  
 Quod more miro fit, solent nam carmina  
 Addere decus rebus magis quam sumere.  
 Deo favente jam subibo pondera  
 Laudis serenus quæ relevat cultus mihi,  
 Præsens ubique cernitur qui sensibus  
 Arcana nudans principis mitissimi.

The poem itself consists of 312 hexameter verses. The editor has accompanied both poems with a copious commentary.

*Philippi Melanthonis Opera Omnia*, denuo diligenter collecta, in ordinem redacta, et ad optimas quæ extant editiones inter se comparatas edita ab JOANNE ANDREA DETZER. Vol. 1. Pars Prior et Posterior, Locos Theologicos continens. Erlangæ, 1828.

This new edition of Melanthon will contain some unpublished works of the same author. The editor, we are sorry to perceive, seems to doubt of the success of his undertaking, and announces to the public "Novam editionem Ph. Melanthonis operum *modico pretio parabilem*;" adding, "Quod inceptum nostrum si bonorum piorumque virorum comprobationem non tulerit, primo volumine hæc opera nostra finietur." We hope, therefore, he will meet with encouragement not only in Germany, but also in other Protestant countries. If so, he intends publishing the works of Melanthon in the following order: first, the *Theologica*, divided into Exegetica, Historica, and Dogmatica; then the *Philosophica* and *Philologica*; and finally, the *Epistola*, with an account of the life of Melanthon, by Joh. Camerarius. The *Loci Theologici*, just published, is printed from the Basil edition of Oporin. 1561. The edition has added a useful 'Index locorum et præcipuorum capitum quæ in singulis locis tractantur,' besides an 'Elenchus locorum Sacræ Scripturæ in hoc libro obiter explicatorum,' and an 'Index rerum.'

*Specimen Adversariorum in Sermones Platonis*, cui præmissa est dissertatio de Horat. Sermon. I. l. i. Scripsit F. G. GRASER. Lipsiæ, 1828.

The writer finds fault with the following passage of Horace :

"Illuc, unde abii, redeo. Nemone, ut avarus,

Se probet, ac potius laudet diversa sequentes?"

He proposes 'nemo *nam*' instead of 'nemone,' which would give it this sense: for if it is granted that a miser does not, &c. and he shows that 'ne ut' implies a negation, as, Egone ut faciam? *Ὁὐ μή ποήσω*; Egone ut te adversum mentiar, mater mea? joined with 'nemo,' the sentence would become affirmative, which evidently it ought not to be. The author writes generally very good Latin, but the following sentence (p. 9.) we do not admire: "qui quidem (avarus)

hoc unum dum omni studio agit, ut omnes *se* ditiores, in summa festinandi contentione tamen *se* semper ab aliis *ruvus se* ditioribus superari cum infinito dolore *suo* intelliget." The *Adversaria* to Plato are of a critical, grammatical, and lexicographical nature, and prove the author to be a worthy pupil of Hermann; of whom he most emphatically says in the concluding passage, "illius admirabile in omni rerum genere exemplum intueor, atque verba, vitam, vultum ipsum animo mirifice commoto contemplor."

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*De Fontibus Historiarum T. Livii Commentatio Altera.* Scripsit F. LACHMANN. Commentatio de Sententia amplissimi Philosphorum ordinis, Acad. Goett. Præmio ornata. Göttingæ, 1828.

The 'Commentatio prima' appeared in 1822; and in the same year Lachmann published another Commentary, 'de die Alliensi aliisque diebus religiosis veterum Romanorum.' The present Commentary treats first 'de libris deperditis xi.—xx.,' and shows from Eutropius, Orosius, and others, that Livy followed Fabius Pictor Tubero, Claud. Quadrigarius, and Piso; but that he made little use of Cato, of the Commentaries of Pyrrhus, and even of Polybius, in the account of the first Punic war. It appears that he frequently relied on doubtful authorities, and followed the tide of national prejudice. This applies especially to the fabulous account of the death of Regulus, epit. l. xviii., and of the captivity of Corn. Asina, epit. xvii. In treating of lib. xxi.—xlv. a full account is given by the author of the manner in which Livy availed himself of Polybius, F. Pictor, L. Cincius Alimentus, M. P. Cato, L. Coelius Antipater, L. Calpurn. Piso, Q. Claud. Quadrigarius, Clodius Licinus, C. Acilius, Q. Valerius Antius, L. Mæcer, Q. Ælius Tubero, P. Rutilius Rufus, and Silenus, § 4—17: next follows an inquiry, how much credit may be due to Livy where he is the sole authority. Thus the story about breaking rocks with vinegar is shown not to be an invention of Livy; it was generally credited among the ancients: cf. Agatharchidas ap. Hudson. in Geog. Min. Diod. iii. 12. Plin. xxxiii. sect. 21 and 23, and the Scholiast to Juvenal x. 153, who says "Diducit scopulos, et montem rupit aceto." Thus Livy is defended against several imputations of Folard, Guischard, &c. In particular chapters are discussed the veracity, diligence, and judgment of Livy. We would advise every reader of Livy to peruse these Commentaries; and we recommend to a future editor of Livy to put them at the head of the text.

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*T. Livii Patavini Historiarum Libri qui supersunt omnes et deperditorum Fragmenta.* Ex recensione Arn. Drakenborchii ad Codicum Bambergensis et Vindobonensis Fidem passim reflecta edidit JOAN. THEOPH. KREYSSIG. Editio Stereotypa. Lipsiæ, 1828. 4to.

The Vienna Codex, which has been used for this edition, is the same from which Grynæus published the last five books of Livy. The Cod. Bambergensis had already been collated by Goeller, (*Liv. Pat. Histor. Liber tertius trigesimus auctius atque emendatius cum Fr. Jacobii suisque notis ex Cod. Bamberg. edidit F. Goeller, Francof. 1822.*) to whom Kreyssig communicated the various readings from l. xxxi.—

xxxviii. Crevier, Ruddimann, Ernesti, Lallemand, Stroth, Doering, Ruperti, and Lemare, may be considered as the most reputed editors of Livy since the time of Drakenborch; and Kreyssig, availing himself of the labors of all his predecessors, and having moreover the advantage of some additional excellent Codices which had never been carefully collated before, may fairly claim the merit of presenting us in his edition with the most correct text of Livy. We shall take this opportunity to give a list of the works concerning Livy which have of late years appeared in Germany.

1. Krusii Dissert. de fide Livii recte æstimanda. Lips. 1812.
2. Treckell's Anmerkungen über das erste und den Anfang des zweiten Buchs von Livius. Lips. 1817.
3. Walchii Emendationes Livianæ. Berol. 1815.
4. A. F. Lindavii Spicilegium Criticum in Thucyd. et Livium. Vratislav. 1817.
5. Büttneri Observationes Livianæ. Primislav. 1819.
6. Langii, et Lehnerii Emendationes Livianæ in Actis Philologorum Monacensium, Tom. III. Fasc. I. II.
7. Ph. Ed. Huschkii Diss. de privilegiis Feceniæ Hispalæ senatus-consulto concessis Liv. xxxix. 19. Götting. 1822.
8. Becker über Livius xxx. 25 und 29. Nazeburg, 1822; and Vorarbeiten zu einer Geschichte des zweiten Punischen Krieges. Altona, 1823.
9. L. Helleri Observationes Livianæ. Erlangæ, 1824.

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*Fr. C. Wolfii Observationes et Emendationes Livianæ*, Parts I. II. Flenopoli, 1826-27.

The present editor has included among the fragments that which was lately published from a Vatican Codex by Niebuhr, and which before him Brunsius and Juvenatius had discovered. After the *Varietas Lectionum* of Drakenborch's edition, an Index is given from the Bipontine.

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*Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, von D. J. CH. F. BAEHR. Carlsruhe, 1828.

This history recommends itself by a clear, comprehensive, and systematic account of the origin, progress, and decline of Roman literature. The plan of the work is more judicious than that which has been followed by Wolf, Harles, Fuhrmann, Dunlop, and other writers on the same subject. The Introduction treats in general of the origin and formation of the language of the different dialects, and gives a division of the language according to the different periods of its formation. The author assumes five periods:—1. From the foundation of Rome up to Livius Andronicus, 514 U. C.—2. From Livius Andronicus to Cicero, 648 U. C.; during which time the Greek literature exercised considerable influence on the language and literature of Rome.—3. From Cicero to the death of Augustus, during which time the Roman language attained its highest degree of perfection by means of the Greek models.—4. From the death of Augustus (anno Chr. 14.) to the reign of Antoninus Pius, an. 138 p. Chr.—5. From Antoninus Pius, to the conquest of Rome by Alaric, an. 410 p. Chr. Having taken this general survey, the author enters on the several branches of Roman

literature, pursuing each branch through all their different periods. We prefer this systematic plan to the chronological method which, having fixed certain periods, treats of all the different branches of literature during a particular period: a work written on the latter plan must necessarily be disjointed, and create confusion in the mind of the reader. The different branches of literature are treated of in the following order:—*Poetry*, with all its subdivisions into Tragedy, Comedy, Epic, Poetical, Narrative, Didactic Poetry, Satire, Lyric Poetry, Elegy, Bucolic Poetry, Fable, and Epigram.—*Prose*: The most ancient monuments (Fasti, Annales Pontificum, &c.), History, Eloquence, which comprehends Rhetoric, Novel, Epistolography, Philosophy, Mathematics, Architecture, Military Sciences, Geography, Agriculture, Medicine, Grammar, and Jurisprudence. In this way we obtain a clear view of all that has been done by the Romans in the several branches of literature, without losing the advantage of a general view of the different periods into which the whole of their literature has been divided. The author has kept a vigilant eye on the most recent researches in all the branches of literature; so that also in this respect his work must prove highly useful to the classical student.

*Diogenis Laërtii de Vitis, Dogmatis, et Apophthegmatis clarorum Philosophorum libri decem.* Græca emendatioꝛa edidit, notatione emendationum, Latina Ambrosii interpretatione castigata, appendice critica, atque indicibus instruxit H. G. HUEBNERUS, Lipsiensis. Vol. i. Lipsiæ, 1828.

We need not say more in recommendation of this new edition of Diogenes Laërtius, than that the editor undertook his task by the advice and with the assistance of Professor Hermann at Leipzig. "Quotiescunque pulcrum aliquod sive non pulcrum Diogenis aliorumve carmen metris suis restituendum esset, toties (Hermannum) in consilium vocavi. Quod consilium quantum Diogeni profuerit, ut non est meum prædicare, ita singulæ prope hujus editionis plagulæ testantur." The editor has taken the text from the Geneva edition of 1616, having collated with it the editio princeps of Froben, Basil, 1533, and that of Pearson, which contains the Commentary of Menage. The conjectural emendations of Isaac Casaubonus and Menage are given under the text; but less use has been made of the conjectures of Mericus Casaubonus and of Kühn. The Latin translation of Ambrosius, as given in the edition of H. Stephanus, has been improved on by means of that of Aldobrandini, and partly by the editor himself. The present volume contains only five books of Diog. Laërtius: we suppose there will be another volume for the text, and a third for the Commentary.

ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ.—*Platonis Convivium.* Recensuit et illustravit L. L. RUCKERT. Lipsiæ, 1829.

The editor has availed himself of the various readings of Bekker and of Stalbaum, and of two Codices besides. The Commentary discusses critical and grammatical difficulties; and we are happy to say that the editor has evinced discretion in this part of his task, in order to render his book useful to the teacher and to the student, rather than dazzling by the display of superabundant erudition. We consider as particularly valuable the 'Expositio Ueberior de Platonis

*Convivio*, which treats of the Symposium in a philosophical point of view. It shows the connexion of ideas, and the general bearing of the original with reference to other works of Plato. Every φιλοσοφῶν must deplore that the writings of this great philosopher are so little attended to in schools, whence we perceive a general decline of taste for metaphysics; but without a luminous and condensed philosophical commentary, the reading of Plato is such an arduous task, that few masters and few students can do justice to it. The editor has much increased the utility of the book by frequent references to Hermann and Vigerus, and Matthiæ's Greek Grammar.

*Kleine Historische und Philologische Schriften*, von B. G. NIEBUHR. Erste Sammlung. Mit einer Landkarte und Inschrift-tafel. Bonn. 1828.

A volume of the smaller publications of Niebuhr has just been published. The principal jewel of this collection is the biography of his father, the celebrated traveller, Carsten Niebuhr. We have never read any biography with greater delight, or with a more intense feeling of veneration for the subject of the biography, or the biographer himself. From the contents of the remainder of the volume we beg to notice the following archæological dissertations:—On the age of Scylax of Caryanda; On the Geography of Herodotus; On the passages in Plautus, which are considered as spurious; Researches on the history of the Scythians, Getes, and Sarmatians; On the second book of the *Œconomica*; On the history of the growth and the decline of ancient Rome, and the restoration of the modern town; On the age of Lycophron. We have given a translation of the latter in a preceding number of the *Classical Journal*.

*Bibliotheca Critica Nova*. Edentibus J. BAKE, J. GEEL, H. A. HAMAKER, P. HOFMAN PEERLKAMP. Vol. II. Lugduni Batavorum, 1828.

This volume contains a variety of interesting articles. The following works are reviewed at considerable length:—pp. 1—20. *Quæstionum Scenicarum Specimen primum*, quo *Orationem* indicit Meineke, Bero-  
lini, 1826, by J. Geel;—pp. 21—39. *Initia philosophiæ Platoniciæ*, auctore Ph. G. Van Heusde: *Pars Prior*, Traject. ad Rhenum, 1827, by J. Bake;—pp. 40—61. *Delectus Epigrammatum Græcorum*, quem novo ordine concinnavit, &c. F. Jacobs. Gothæ, 1826, by Peerlkamp;—pp. 62—77. *Histoire de la Révolution d'Angleterre*, par M. Guizot, by Thorbecke;—pp. 78—102. *Ælii Aristidis Declamationes Leptineæ*. Emendatas, &c. edidit G. H. Grauert, Bonnæ, 1827, by Geel;—pp. 103—143. *Lectiones Stobenses ad novissimam Florilegii editionem congestæ* a F. Jacobs. Jenæ, 1827, by Bake;—pp. 144—181. *De M. Pacuvii Dulo-  
reste*: scripsit Henricus Stieglitz, Lipsiæ, 1826, by Peerlkamp;—pp. 182—208. *Isocratis Panegyricus*: edidit G. Dindorfius, Lipsiæ, 1826; and *Isocratis Oratio de Pace*: edidit P. L. Le Loup, Moguntiæ, 1826, by Bergman;—pp. 209—245. *Theognidis reliquiæ*: novo ordine disposuit, &c. F. T. Welcker. Francof. ad Mænum, 1826, by Geel;—pp. 246—275. *Hellenische Alterthumskunde aus dem Gesichtspunkte des Staates* von W. Wachsmuth, by Bake;—pp. 276—283. *L. Cæcili Minutiani Apuleii de Orthographia Fragmenta*, et *Apuleii minoris de Nota Aspirationis*, et *de Diphthongis libri duo*. Edidit et animadver-

sionibus auxit Frid. Osann, Darmstadii, 1826, by Peerlkamp;—pp. 284—293. Glossarium Livianum, sive Index Latinitatis exquisitioris. Ex schedis A. G. Ernestii emendavit G. H. Schæfer. Auctius et emendatius edidit J. Th. Kreyssig, Lipsiæ, 1827, by Peerlkamp;—pp. 294—331. Geschichte des Osmannischen Reiches durch Joseph v. Hammer (History of the Osmanic Empire), by Hamaker;—pp. 332—371. Libri Wakedii de Mesopotamiæ expugnatæ historia pars e Codice Bibliothecæ Göttingensis Arabico edita et annotatione illustrata. Qua scriptione—ad orationem publicam audiendam invitat G. H. A. Ewald, Göttingæ, 1827, by Hamaker;—pp. 372—403. Ἰωάννου τοῦ Τζέζου Βιβλίον ἱστορικῆς τῆς διὰ στίχων πολιτικῶν, Ἄλφα δὲ καλουμένης. Textum recognovit, brevi annotatione, et indicibus instruxit Th. Kieplingius, Lipsiæ, 1826.

These elaborate articles are followed by several short notices (Relationes breviores) of works published either in Germany or in the Netherlands. The latter have never reached this country, we believe; we mention, for instance,—Joannis Chrysostomi Selecta, Gr. et Lat. De editionis novæ consilio præfatus est et annotationem subiecit Joannes van Voorst, vol. i. Lugd. Bat. 1827; and, C. Cornelii Taciti de vita et moribus Cn. Julii Agricolæ Liber. Edidit et annot. illustravit P. Hofman Peerlkamp, Lugd. Bat. 1827. As a specimen of Peerlkamp's critical ingenuity we refer to the passage of Agricola, cap. 31. *Nos integri et indomiti et libertatem non in præsentiam laturi*. The reading in *præsentiam* is evidently corrupt; but the editors have not been able to find any remedy for it. But another reading of the Cod. Vat. (*libertatem non in penitentiam laturi*) led Peerlkamp to correct the passage by slightly altering the words *non in penitentiam* into *non impudentiam*; a conjecture which carries conviction at once to the mind of the reader.

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*Ueber die Antigone und die Electra des Sophocles.* Von G. A. HEIGL. Passau, 1828.

This work contains very interesting inquiries into the nature of the tragedies of Sophocles. The author contends that the principles of the Ionian philosophy may be traced in his dramas. But he labors to prove that we do not possess them, such as they were written by Sophocles; and he infers from the passage of the Scholiast ad Aristoph. Ran. v. 78. *κωμῳδεῖται Ἰοφῶν . . . οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῇ ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τραγωδίαις ἐπιγράφεσθαι . . . ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ καὶ ψυχρὴς καὶ μακρῆς εἶναι*, that considerable additions were made to them by Iophon, and that he made them tedious and frigid. Also Quintilian, Orat. x. l. 66, speaking of Æschylus, mentions the *correctas ejus fabulas*. He goes on to show that there were two parties at Athens; one which preferred the Sophoclean tragedies in their original state, as is reported of Æschines, *ἀναλαμβάνων . . . τὰς παλαιὰς τραγωδίας* (x. Orat. vit. Æschin.), and another which preferred them as they had been altered by Iophon; and that Lycurgus decided in favor of the latter party, even prohibiting the representation of them as they had been written by Sophocles, *οὐκ ἐξείναι γὰρ αὐτὰς ὑποκρίνεσθαι* (x. Orat. vit. Lycurg.). He calculates that a tetralogy contains about 5000 verses; and as three poets are known to have brought out their tetralogies on the same day, he thinks it must have been impossible to represent the tragedies in their present state. This will be fine amusement for the critics, who have been fancying all the while that they have made out the genuine text of the tragedian. Our author



proceeds boldly to analyse the *Antigone* and the *Electra* of Sophocles, and to show what belongs to Sophocles and what to Iophon; and he contrives by this process to restore the original tragedies: then he endeavors to explain how the residue contains the principles of the Ionian philosophy. With equal ingenuity our author endeavors to show what reference the *γραμματικὴ θεωρία* (Athenæ. x.) has to the tragedies of Sophocles and Iophon; and this part of the book is extremely curious, even after what Hermann has written on the subject. At the end of the book the discovery is made that this Iophon is precisely the same, *ὃς φασὶν εἶναι Εὐριπίδου Μήδειαν*, and whom Suidas calls Neophon. He played the same trick with Euripides as he did with his father. Iophon is charged with the death of Sophocles, who died, according to the satirical account of his biographer, from suffocation, in reciting a long sentence of *Antigone*, because the tragedy had become too tedious and frigid. Mr. Heigl extends his eccentric researches to a number of points connected with the ancient drama, and labors hard to prove that Aristotle understood nothing about it. As a curiosity his book is well worth perusing.

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*De Aristophanis Ranis Dissertatio.* Scripsit A. G. BOHTZ.  
Gothæ, 1828.

The author endeavors to show that the *Ranæ* of Aristophanes were intended to expose the degeneracy of the poets of his age, and the degeneracy of the people in matters of taste; and that Euripides and *Æschylus* are only introduced, to draw a striking parallel between the poetry of his times and the ancient poetry, and to remind the people that they were themselves inferior to the *Μακροβουμάχοι* of *Æschylus*; and he conceives that Bacchus, with his sensuality and flippancy, dressed in the lion's skin and armed with the club, is merely a hit at the Athenians themselves. Aristophanes had therefore, in the *Ranæ*, the same object in view with regard to poetry, as he had in the *Nubes* with regard to philosophy.

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*Marci Annæi Lucani Pharsalia*, cum notis C. Barthii, J. F. Christii, Gottl. Cortii, Joh. F. Gronovii, Nicol. Heinsii, J. A. Martyni-Lagunæ, Dan. Wilh. Trilleri, aliorumque. Editionem morte Cortii interruptam absolvit C. F. WEBER, Ph. Dr. et Gymn. Darmstadt. Professor. Vol. 1, 11. Lipsiæ, 1828-29.

A small edition of Lucan was published by Cortius in 1726. A larger one in two volumes, 4to., with a copious Commentary, was preparing for the press when Oudendorp's edition appeared in Holland. It put a stop to the large edition of Cortius; and he died before he could finish his Commentary. It extended however to eight books of the *Pharsalia*; and from the solid erudition of the author it was considered to be extremely valuable. Martyni-Laguna obtained possession of his papers (in 1785); and he devoted a number of years to Lucan, in order to complete the Commentary of Cortius, which he intended to publish, together with his own numerous annotations, as he declared in a letter to Heyne in 1795. A short time after a great number of his Ms. papers were destroyed by fire, and with them the Commentary of Cortius, as was generally supposed; the report of which was spread, or at least

countenanced, by Martyni-Laguna himself. However, he never published his intended edition of Lucan; and the present editor bought from the executors all the papers left by him. They were found to contain the whole Commentary of Cortius, besides valuable remarks on the Pharsalia by Martyni-Laguna himself. Thus Weber, who published himself an edition of Lucan in 1822, was enabled to publish another, which contains the Commentary of Cortius, &c. On a comparison of the first book with the edition of Cumberland, we should give decidedly the preference to the Leipzig edition. Even the print and paper may be called magnificent for a Leipzig edition. Not less than 79 Codd. Mss. besides inedited scholia, and all the editions that were of any value, have been collated and consulted for the present edition. The 'Dissertatio Editoris,' at the end of vol. ii. treats of the plan of the Pharsalia. The editor, in opposition to Jacobs, who gave it as his opinion that the Pharsalia would have ended with the death of Cæsar, if Lucan had lived to finish his poem, endeavors to show from internal evidence that it would have closed with the battle of Philippi. The hatred of Lucan against Nero, and his participation in a conspiracy against his life, lead us to adopt the view which Jacobs takes. Passages from the first three books prove nothing against it, because Lucan altered his whole plan whilst writing the poem. From a flatterer of Nero he became his mortal enemy. An Index Auctorum, Rerum, et Verborum, (pp. 591—694.) adds considerably to the value and utility of this edition.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ ΤΑ ΣΩΖΟΜΕΝΑ.—*Aristotelis Rerumpublicarum Reliquiæ*. Collegit, illustravit, atque Prolegomena addidit C. F. NEUMANN. Heidelbergæ, 1827.

We take notice of this collection of the fragments of Aristotle's Πολιτεία, not only because it was a desideratum, (cf. Casaubon. Not. ad Diog. Laërt. 76. ed. Col. 1615, and Niebuhr, Histor. Rom. i. 20.) but because the editor announces a far more important work, a 'Corpus Scriptorum rerum civilium,' which is intended to unite all the political fragments of the Greek writers, as, 'Αναξάρχου περί Βασιλείας, Ἀγισθένης Πολιτικὸς Λόγος ἢ Πολιτεία, Ἀριστοτέλους Νόμοι Πολιτικοὶ ἢ Πολιτεία, Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς περί Δημοκρατίας, Διοσκορίδου περί Νομίμων, Διογένης τοῦ Κυνικοῦ Πολιτεία, Ἐμπεδοκλέους Πολιτικά, Ἐπικούρου περί Βασιλείας, Ζήνωνος περί Πολιτείας, Ἡρακλείδου περί Πολιτειῶν, Θεοφράστου Πολιτικά, Θεοδέκτης, Κλεάνθου Πολιτικὸς, Κριτίου Πολιτεία Ἐμμετρος, Μενεσθένου Πολιτικά, Τηλεκλέους τοῦ Μιλησίου Πολιτεία, Φαλέου τοῦ Χαλκηδονίου περί τῆς Πολιτείας, Χρυσίππου περί Νόμων, Χρυσσογόνου Πολιτεία, Ἀνωνύμου Πολιτεία, ap. Phot., &c. who are all mentioned by Athenæus, Plut. Diog. Laërt. and others. The fragments of Aristotle here collected refer to fifty-one cities, or nations, besides the Βαρβάρων Νόμοι, and the fragments 'Ex incertis Rebus publicis.'

*Pausaniæ Græciæ Descriptio*. Edidit, Græca emendavit, Latine Amasæi interpretationem castigatam adjunxit, et Adnotationem atque Indices adjecit CAROL. GODOF. SIEBELIS. Volumen quintum, Auctarium Adnotationum, Indices Rerum et Verborum, atque reliquas Bekkeri edit. Lectiones memorabiles continens. Lipsiæ, 1828.

This volume closes the edition of Pausanias by Siebelis. The 'Auc-

tarium Adnott.' contains some remarks on Leake's Topography of Athens. Siebelis observes, that *ἐν δεξιᾷ, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ*, does not always mean the right and left of the person, who is visiting the different places (cf. Leake, p. 177.) and he refers to viii. 38, 2, &c. In page 12. *Σκαυβαρίδαι* are mentioned, and Photius Lex. referred to: see also Boeckh's Corp. Inscript. vol. i. Fasc. 1. Inscript. 71. We would remind the editor, that Kruse's *Hellas* should be used with great caution; he indulges too much, like some critics, his conjectural faculties, and seems to forget that geography is a more stubborn thing than the text of an author.

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*M. Tullii Ciceronis Lælius.* Recensuit, et Annotatione perpetua instruxit C. BEIER. Lips. 1828.

This edition is intended for schools. The critical apparatus of the editor consisted in seventeen Codices; among which was a Codex Bernensis of the twelfth century. From Gernhard's edition of *Lælius* he collected the readings of the Oxford Codices. In addition to the *Dialogus* is given—Excursus 1. 'V. Th. Scheu de Morte Scipionis Africani Minoris ejusque auctoribus Dissertatio Historico-Critica,' which clears the family of the Gracchi from the suspicion, to which Cic. de Republ. vi. c. 10—26. "si impias propinquorum manus effugeris," had given rise; and Excursus 11. "de Formulis dubitanter decernendi."

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*L'Oraison Dominicale dans les Langues de l'Asie; with an inter-linear translation,* by MATTHIAS NORBERG, Prof. at Lund.

Professor Norberg, one of the first Orientalists of the north, had conceived the project of comparing the Lord's Prayer in the various languages of Asia, as inserted in the work entitled *Mithridate*, by Adelung and Vater, Berlin, 1817. 4 vols. in 8vo. to show the affinity of all the languages of Asia with the Hebrew and Arabic. Some sheets of this work were printed when Norberg died; the Academy of Upsal has not continued the publication, but announces that the manuscript is deposited in its archives, where the public may consult it.

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*Thèse Critique sur la Langue Originale de l'Evangile de St. Matthieu.* Par CHARLES GRAVITZ. 24 pages, in 8vo. Paris, 1827.

The object of this work is to determine in what language the Gospel of St. Matthew was originally written. The author thinks this Gospel was written evidently for the Jews of Palestine, at that period when the Hebrew was the vulgar tongue, for which he adduces proofs: he inquires how the original came to be lost in the first ages, without a copy having been preserved among the Judaizing Christians, the Nazarenes, and the Ebionites; and he concludes that this Gospel, originally written in Hebrew by Matthew, was lost, and that there remains only a Greek translation of it, executed soon after the publication of the first. Although we acknowledge that the question is perhaps doubtful, yet we cannot agree with M. Gravitz, and will state one or two reasons:—1st, In whose hands perished this original Gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew? In the hands of the Nazarenes, replies the author. But this Gospel of the Hebrews, which was venerated

rated by these sects, and which should be, according to the author, the original St. Matthew, is different from the Greek text which we possess; how then should our text be the translation of another text which differs from it? Our author replies, that the Ebionites corrupted the true St. Matthew; that is possible, but it is not supported on any kind of proof; the assertion is purely gratuitous. 2ndly, The author does not appear to have paid sufficient attention to the perfectly original characteristic style of our Greek Gospel of St. Matthew. In comparing Isaiah xlii. 2. and St. Matthew xii. 19. we perceive that the author of the Gospel according to St. Matthew translates not Isaiah according to the Septuagint, gives not a literal Greek translation of Isaiah, but modifies and accommodates passages to his purpose; never would a translator have acted thus; he would have purely translated it. What is altogether incredible is, that this translator, rendering into Greek a Hebrew verse of the Bible, should have given neither the verse of the Septuagint nor that of any other, but that he should have modified the quotation so as to be favorable to his own account: these considerations appear to us unanswerable. These researches of M. Gravitv appear to tend to this conclusion; viz. that St. Matthew might have written two Gospels, the one in Hebrew and the same in Greek, which is not improbable. (*Revue Protestante*, tom. 5. 3<sup>e</sup> année, Juin, p. 284.).

ΤΟΥ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΒΛΕΜΜΥΔΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΣ.

Sapientissimi Nicephori Blemmydæ Oratio, Qualem oporteat esse regem. 24 pages in 4to. Romæ, 1827, typis Vaticanis.

This is a new present made to classical literature by M. Mai, who found the discourse of Nicephorus Blemmyda among the manuscripts of the Vatican, and has published it with a Latin translation.

*Casp. Barthii Observationes ad D. Junii Juvenalis Scholia vetera, et ad aliquot Catulli, Tibulli, Ovidii, Calpurnii, Planti, Terentii locos, cum ejusdem auctoris adversariis commentariis a B. Spohn repertis; nunc primum edidit FR. TIEDLER FIEDLER, Phil. Dr. in 8vo. of xix. and 235 pages. Price 1 rthlr. 4gr. Leipzig, 1827, Manberger.*

This work is only the forerunner of a great work of Barth, commented on by the late Professor Spohn, and which this last intended to publish.

*Extrait de l'Atlas Historique, Généalogique, Chronologique, et Géographique, de A. LE SAGE (Comte de Las Casas); or Maps the most classical and most useful, &c. In folio, price 12 francs. Paris, 1828.*

We owe thanks to the Comte de Las Casas for having detached this extract from his great work, which is so useful for the instruction of youth, and which has been so successful as to have already gone through eight editions.

*Von der Form der Hebräischen Poesie, &c.* On the construction of Hebrew Poetry, with a treatise on Hebrew Music; by SAAL-SCHUETZ. Price 3 thal. Königsberg, 1825. Unzer.

Several attempts have been made to determine the structure of the metre of Hebrew poetry, without any satisfactory result. The author of the work above announced has made new researches on this matter. After having examined in his introduction the four prevailing opinions relative to the question, whether the Hebrews followed a metrical system in their verses; a question frequently agitated since the epoch of the fathers of the church—the author passes on to a criticism of the works which may serve to confirm or reject the existence of a metrical system in Hebrew verse. It appears to be proved that the Hebrews have made use of three feet in the structure of their verse; the trochee, the spondee, and the dactyl.

*Analecta Arabica*, edidit, Latine vertit, et illustravit E. F. CAS. ROSENMULLER (Zohairi Carmen Al-Moallakah appellatum). In 4to. xviii. and 56 pages. Price 1 rthlr. 12 gr. Leipzig, 1826. Barth.

In 1792, M. Rosenmuller published a poem of Zohair, from a copy from the Ms. at Leyden, with the Scholiæ of Nachas, a Latin translation, and notices: this copy he procured from Rink. We now announce the same poem, after a copy made by the Arab, Michael Sebbagh, from the Ms. at Paris (1416), embellished with the Scholiæ of Zuzen: this edition is, moreover, enriched with an Arabic and Latin glossary, which explains all the words of this poem. This work is arranged chiefly for the use of young persons who study Arabian literature.

*Auctarium Lexicorum Græcorum*; præsertim Thesauri Linguae Græcæ ab H. Stephano conditi; editore F. OSANNO, Professore Jenensi. Insunt Anecdota tam Græca quam Latina permulta. In 4to. xviii. and 200 pages. Price 4 fl. 18 kr. Darmstadt, 1824. Leske.

A persevering study of many years has enabled the author to remedy in part the imperfections of our vocabularies, in collecting among the Greek classics all words which are not to be found in the dictionaries. This work is an excellent supplement to Greek lexicography.

*Histoire Grecque traduite en Français du Grecque de Thucydide, avec supplément à son Histoire*, in 5 vols.—containing, at the end of the translation, the geography of the historian, the plans of the battles described by him, numerous specimens of all the manuscripts, literary and critical observations, and a rich collection of plates by J. B. Gail, Conservator of the Manuscripts in the King's Library at Paris, &c.

This new translation of Thucydides into French is published by subscription: the 1st vol. is embellished with portraits of the three great historians, and was published about the end of 1828: the first four vols. are finished, and printed in 8vo. price 7 francs each. The complete atlas of Thucydides in 4to. with maps and plans (41 plates), numerous speci-

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mens, and 22 prints, 25 fr.—The atlas alone, with the three maps of Greece, Sicily, and Lower Asia, by M. Lapie, and all the specimens, *but without the prints*, 10 fr.—The atlas complete, with portraits of the three great historians, Herodotus, Xenophon, and Thucydides, 114 plates, 60 fr.—The 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th vols. will appear from month to month.

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*Histoire Universelle de l'Antiquité*, by F. C. SCHLOSSER, Professor at the University of Heidelberg, translated from the German by M. Golbéry, Correspondent of the Institut, &c. Strasburg and Paris, 1828. 3 vols. in 8vo.

The first vol. of this work contains four sections: 1st, The Antehistoric periods. 2nd, Primitive times, civilised states, China, and Japan, India, Bactriana, Egypt. 3rd, The period when the Israelites flourished, empire of the Medes and Persians. 4th, The period of the domination of the Greeks in the south-east part of Europe, containing the Peloponnesian war, and the reigns of the kings of Macedonia, Philip and Alexander, and concluding with the conquest of the Romans. History is not here to be understood in the rigor of the term; the author composes not a tissue of events, but a body of general observations on the manners, institutions, the progress of instruction and of civilisation among these ancient people.

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*Grammaire de la Langue Grecque*, and of its various dialects, presented in an analytical order by M. A. GERFAUX. Paris, 1828. 4to. 96 pages.

First part, letters and signs, accents and punctuation; 2nd part, various parts of speech; 3rd part, system. The grammar is very concise, and is, for the most part, exhibited in tables.

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*Notice sur le Voyage Littéraire en Orient*, de M. Schutz, and on the discoveries which he has recently made among the ruins of the city of Semiramis in Armenia, by M. SAINT MARTIN, read at the Academy of Inscriptions and at the Société Asiatique at its general and annual meeting, on the 29th April, 1828. Paris royal press, 30 pages in 8vo.

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*The celebrated Universal History*, by EBN KHALIDUNE.

The object of M. Schutz's journey, under the auspices of the French government, is to collect works written in the ancient dialects of Persia, and particularly the books of Zoroaster: he is to sojourn in the southern provinces of Persia, where the followers of the law of Zoroaster are numerous. The war between the Russians and the Persians has, till lately, thrown impediments in the way of M. Schutz, and has occasioned his return to Constantinople, where he has made valuable literary discoveries in the various libraries of that city, the principal of which is the complete work or universal history of Ebn Khalidune: several extracts from this important work have already been published in the *Journal Asiatique* of France; and hopes are entertained that M. Schutz will ultimately be able to procure a copy of the manuscript, or the manuscript itself. M. Schutz has visited in Turkish-Armenia the remains of the city of Van, situated at the extremity of a lake of

the same name. This city is called by the Armenians *Schamiramakert*; that is to say, the city of Semiramis. The description of this city resembles what is given by the Greek authors respecting the monuments erected by order of Semiramis in Media and in Syria, and are truly magnificent. The Persian writers inform us, that Tamerlane, at the end of the 14th century, attempted to destroy these antique monuments, but the solidity and extent of them exhausted the vain efforts of his soldiers.

Moses of Khoren, an historian of Armenia, who wrote in the 5th century, and who had seen these magnificent monuments, describes the foundation of the town. The following is an abridged extract from his work. Moses, in describing the foundation of Van, reports that Semiramis, after having achieved the conquest of Armenia, was encamped with her army on the banks of this lake. Charmed with the enchanting aspect, with the mild temperature, the rich verdure, the abundance and quality of the waters of the country, she resolved to form there her royal summer residence: she chose a fine spot on the south-east shore of the lake gently inclined towards the north, and well watered. She caused forty-two thousand workmen to come from Assyria; who in their work were under the direction of six hundred architects and skilful artists in carving wood and stone, and in working iron and brass: they began by elevating an immense esplanade, formed with enormous masses of stone, and by a cement of lime and sand. This construction was rendered so solid, that it remained entire in the days of the Armenian historian above-mentioned; and it was then impossible to detach one stone from another, so tenacious was the cement: the stones were so smooth and so well polished, that they had lost nothing of their lustre. This esplanade, under which they had taken care to provide vast caverns (which in the time of Moses of Khoren served as a refuge to the robbers of the country), extended to the length of several furlongs to the place where was to be erected the foundation of the town intended to be built. This town was finished after the termination of some years, and was surrounded by strong walls, and ornamented with gates of brass. Several palaces were erected in stone of divers colors, covered with handsome terraces, to which were adjoined public edifices and baths in sufficient quantity. Canals distributed, in the different quarters of the town and in the gardens, the waters of the neighborhood; many country-houses and villas were erected to the right and left in various parts of the country. Plantations of fruit-trees as well as of vines were made, which attracted a great multitude of inhabitants. The Armenian historian says, that it is impossible to describe all the wonders of this magnificent city: he then resumes the description of the vast esplanade already spoken of. He says, after having surrounded it with the strongest defences, Semiramis caused the royal residences to be constructed, rendering the entry to them and the exit of difficult access: these palaces were entered only through frightful caverns. Moses of Khoren does not conceive how it was possible to construct all these edifices; but he adds, that *all these buildings are the most beautiful and the grandest monuments of kings*. The substance which forms the south side of the monuments is so extremely hard, that it is impossible to cut it with iron. Here are found temples, vast apartments appropriated to the secretion of treasure, immense vaults: a multitude of inscriptions are seen which of themselves are deserving of admiration. It would appear from the inscriptions on these stones

that the art of rendering them soft as wax had been known. Semiramis also caused columns to be elevated in memory of herself in divers parts of Armenia.

This description, which at first sight appears romantic, agrees nevertheless with the information received through the modern writers of Armenia; and it also agrees with that which they give of the antique monuments discovered at Van, and with the accounts which M. Schetz has collected respecting them.

*M. Tullii Ciceronis de Divinatione et de Fato libri*, cum omnium eruditorum annotationibus quas Johannis Davisii editio ultima habet; textum denuo ad fidem complurium codd. Msstorum, edd. vett. aliorumque adjumentorum recognovit, Friderici Creuzeri et Caroli Philippi Kaiseri suasque animadversiones edidit G. H. MOSER. Francof. ad Mœnum, Brœnner. 1828. in 8vo. xxvi. and 770 pages.

This edition comes recommended by the purity of the text, by a great variety of philological and historical notes, and by the care that has been taken to collect all the various readings, many of which were hitherto unknown. The short and learned remarks, with which M. Creuzer has enriched it, are such as will be very useful to such as are desirous of making a profound and serious study of these two works of Cicero. The treatise on Laws was published by the same editors in 1824. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Legibus libri tres*, cum Adriani Turnebi commentario ejusdemque apologia et omnium eruditorum notis quas Johannis Davisii editio ultima habet: textum denuo recensuit suasque animadversiones adjecit G. H. Moser: accedunt copię criticę ex codd. manuscriptis nondum antea collatis, itemque annotationes ineditę P. Victorii, L. G. Grævii, D. Wyttenbachii, aliorum. Apparatum codicum et ineditorum conguessit suasque notas addidit Fridericus Creuzer. Francofurti ad Mœnum, e typographio Brœnneriano, 1824, in 8vo. xxxii. and 798 pages (with a plate representing the territory of Arpino). The preface is by M. Creuzer, who, in speaking of the notes which are his own, expresses himself in these terms—"In quo ipse mihi hanc legem scripsi, ut quam maxime brevitati studerem, et sæpius in scriptorum locis laudandis me continerem."

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*Stephens' Greek Thesaurus*, No. XXXIX. containing the Index. Thus the Work is comprised in 39 Numbers; and though this last exceeds the size of three common Numbers, yet it is charged only as *one* to the regular Subscribers. In consequence, however, of its great extent, Mr. V. will feel himself at liberty to charge a higher price for it, when required to complete *imperfect* sets.

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*Ancient Tachygraphy* ; abridged from No. 96 of the *Edinburgh Review*.

We believe it is not generally known that there are many manuscripts in existence of great antiquity which are written in short-hand; and it is from deciphering these that we hope to recover works that are not to be found at present in any other shape.

The story ordinarily received is, that the art was first practised by Tiro, the freedman, correspondent and favorite of Cicero. It seems more probable, however, that Tiro imported the art from Greece, than that he was the inventor of it; especially as Dionegeus Laertius informs us that Xenophon used to practise it.

Trithemius, or Tritthenheim, at the end of the fifteenth century, was lucky enough to purchase a lexicon of Tironian notes of an abbot of his own order.

After the time of Trithemius much was done at various periods and by different persons towards the analysis of the Tironian notes; but not so much as the inquirer after the lost classics would desire, for no fruit was produced. The most important work on this curious subject is a very modern one; and although it cannot as yet be said that the learned author has actually borne fruit, by deciphering any author of value, yet his labors will greatly facilitate such a generous enterprise; and a brief account of the book will best explain what it is necessary to the present purpose to understand of these matters. The title of the work is, "*Tachygraphia Veterum exposita et illustrata ab Ulrico Frid. Kopp. 2 tom. 4to. Manheim, 1817.*"

The *first* volume contains various investigations; the history of the art; an analysis of the forms of words; and whatever in short is necessary to constitute what may be called a grammar of ancient short-hand: and it is, in truth, a wonderful monument of diligence and learning; but it would be very advantageous to make an epitome or abridgment, omitting all that is merely archæolo-

gical and historical, and especially those parts in which the errors of others are stated and exposed, and retaining only whatever is necessary in a grammar.

The *second* volume is a very full dictionary of this old shorthand, containing about 12,000 words or marks, arranged in alphabetical order: a number abundantly sufficient to enable the student to become perfectly familiar with the whole system, and to put it in the power of any one, by the labor of a few hours, to discover the subject of any manuscript which is written in these characters.

A few Greek manuscripts are in existence written in notes; and the learned Kopp assures us, that the Greek notes are more easy and simple than the Tironian, and that the accents and spirits which are always expressed greatly assist the reader. In appearance they are more similar to modern short-hand.

This very industrious and learned person describes the manuscripts which he examined as consisting either of dictionaries of notes, which he found of course very useful, or works of a religious nature; and he very frankly gives vent to his disappointment in these words: "Vere dolemus, plurimos libros, qui notis Tironianis scripti in bibliothecis latent, non nisi psalteria, scripta de rebus sacris, opera patrum, aliaque hujus generis, continere, quæ cognoscere haud multum interest virorum doctorum."

IN THE PRESS.

*Hoogveen on the Greek Particles*; translated into English, and abridged for the Use of Schools, on the plan of *Viger's Greek Idioms*. By the Rev. J. SEAGER. Will speedily be published, price 8s. 6d.—It is the intention of the Editor to undertake, on the same plan, *Bos*, *Maittaire*, and *Hermann*; which will be published as soon as possible.

FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

*Contents of the 'Journal des Savans' for October, 1828.*

1. Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezant, &c. c'est-à-dire, Histoire de l'Empire de Trébizonde, par J. Ph. Falmereyer, Professeur d'Histoire au Lycée Royal de Landshut en Bavière; ouvrage couronné par la Société Royale des Sciences à Copenhague. 4to. avec la devise, Fata canam, sed erunt qui me finxisse loquantur. [M. Hase.]
2. Religion der Babylonier, von D. Friedrich Münter, Bischof von Seeland, u. s. f.—Religion des Babyloniens, par le Dr. F. Münter, évêque de Selande, &c. &c. Copenhague, 140 pages, in 4to. [Baron Silvestre de Sacy.]
3. Influence de l'Écriture sur la Pensée et sur le Langage; ouvrage qui a partagé le prix fondé par Volney, par M. le Baron Massias. [M. Abel-Rémusat.]
4. Histoire Critique der Gnosticisme, et de son influence sur les sectes religieuses et philosophiques des six premiers siècles de l'Ere

Chrétienne; ouvrage couronné par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, composé par M. Jacq. Matter. [M. Daunou.]

5. Mémoire sur la génération et le développement de l'embryon dans les végétaux phanérogames, par M. Adolphe Brogniart. [M. Tessier.]

Nouvelles Littéraires.

November.—1. Religion des Babyloniens, par le Dr. Fr. Münter. [2nd Art. of Baron Silvestre de Sacy.]

2. Système de l'Edda et son Origine: ou Exposition des fables et opinions des anciens habitans du Nord, sur l'existence, la nature, et les destinées de la terre, des dieux, des esprits, et des hommes: comparé en détail tant avec le grand livre de la nature, qu'avec les systèmes mythologiques des Grecs, des Perses, des Indiens, et d'autres peuples anciens; et entremêlé de recherches historiques sur l'origine et les relations des nations les plus remarquables de l'ancien monde, &c. par Finn. Magnusen, professeur, &c. Ouvrage couronné par la Société Royale Danoise des Sciences. [M. Depping.]

3. Satires de Perse et de Sulpicia, traduites en vers Français, par M. F. Théry. [M. Raynouard.]

4. Histoire des Français des divers états, aux cinq. derniers siècles; par M. Amens-Alexis Montoil. [M. Daunou.]

5. Astronomie solaire d'Hipparque soumise à une critique rigoureuse, par M. J. B. P. Marcoz. [M. Letronne.]

6. Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. [3rd Art. of M. Abel-Rémusat.]

Nouvelles Littéraires.

December.—1. Introduction à l'étude des Vases Antiques d'Argile peints; par M. Dubois-Maisonneuve. [M. Raoul-Rochette.]

2. Grammaires Hébraïques, par MM. Lee, Ewald, et Sarchi. [Baron Silvestre de Sacy.]

3. Examen Critique des Dictionnaires de la Langue Française, par M. Charles Nodier. [M. Raynouard.]

4. Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de l'Institut de France, tomes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. [M. Chevreuil.]

#### SELECTION OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

*Homeri Odysseæ Rhapsodiæ sex*, quibus Ulyssis errorum narratio absolvitur; in usum tironum, cum notis et indice grammaticam in primis vocum analysin atque explicationem exhibentibus. Edidit Josephus J'ejevsky. 8vo. Moscow, 1828.

*Fragments Arabica*, e codicibus manuscriptis Parisiis, nunc primum, publicis sumtibus, edidit D. R. Huzius, a Cons. Anf. Petropoli. 8vo. 1828.

*Arabic and Turkish Dictionary*, printed at Constantinople in the year of the Hejra 1242 (1827), under the direction of Ebrahim Esaib, folio.

*Histoire Générale de l'Inde Ancienne et Moderne*, from the year 2000 before our Lord until the present time; preceded by a geographical notice and particular treatises on Chronology, Religion, Philosophy, Legislation, Literature, the Arts and Sciences,

and the Commerce of the Hindoos ; by M. de Marlès, author of the History of the Domination of the Arabs in Spain, &c. 6 vols. 8vo. on fine paper ; with a geographical map of India, 42 fr. Paris.

The 5th and 6th vols. of this important work, recently published, are not inferior in any respect to the four preceding volumes.

*Dictionnaire Français-Arabe*, par Ellious Bochtor, an Egyptian, and late Professor of Vulgar Arabic at the Ecole Spéciale des LL. OO. Vivants at Paris ; revised and enlarged by M. A. Caussin de Percival, Professor of Vulgar Arabic, &c. Paris. Dondey Dupré. 1828. 1st vol. A—KYS. 4to.

*La Sainte Bible*, en Hébreu, avec points. Printed by Plantin, Antwerp, 1566, 2 vols. Paris. Dondey Dupré.

This is a fine copy of the 1st edition of the Bible published by Plantin : it is embellished with various Hebrew notes, which appear to have been written by an Asiatic Jew, and which contain references from certain books to others. These notes form a kind of commentary.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

We had prepared for this Number a Supplementary Article to our Notice of Mr. Cardwell's edition of the Nicomachean Ethics, which appeared in the *Classical Journal* for December last ; from a wish to supply some omissions, as well as to correct some errors into which we had fallen : but the press of matter has compelled us to defer it till our next Number.

### DR. ROUTH VINDICATED.

Sir,—Having been lately on a visit to Oxford; I took the opportunity of paying my respects to DR. ROUTH, the President of Magdalen College. After the usual salutation, this learned and excellent person entered immediately on a conversation relative to the several memoirs of DR. PARR, and his writings, lately published by Dr. Johnstone ; and he expressed himself as surprised and hurt to find himself described by his learned friend, in some part of his works, as a *Jacobite* ; a title which Dr. Routh utterly disclaims ; and he wished me, as any opportunity might offer, to repel the imputation.

Now, Sir, as my *private* opportunities are very few, I have thought that some *public* channel for conveying Dr. Routh's wishes would be more direct and effectual ; and I accordingly take the liberty of submitting what follows to the *Classical Journal*.

Those who were better acquainted with Dr. Parr than I was, well know that he was a *warm-hearted friend*, but that he was in the habit of speaking to his friends and of his friends in

a sort of *serio-comical* way, in a style rather of banter and point, than in sober, serious earnest; and I infer that he was in some such frame of mind when he called his learned friend a Jacobite: not to mention the *absurdity* of deliberately and seriously calling a person a Jacobite at a time when the very title is altogether extinct, and no reason for using the word now remains. Still, as Dr. Routh is known as the head of a college distinguished for its attachment to the principles of the Revolution, and has himself published the improved edition of Bishop Burnet's History of his Own Times, he may not choose in any way to tarnish the character of his college, nor to have his own left under a charge of inconsistency. And, besides all this, Dr. Parr's insinuation relative to his learned friend may be considered as connected with some of his own, certainly not very respectful sentiments and expressions relative to his present Majesty, hardly consistent with the principles of one with whom it appears to be a leading rule (as he expressed himself to me) "not to speak evil of dignities;" Dr. Routh, therefore, does not consider himself responsible for any such-like matters which may occur in the writings of his late learned friend. After all, Dr. Routh did not mean to impugn any principles or sentiments avowed by Dr. Parr (these he left to speak for themselves), nor to charge him with any unkind intentions; but only with having spoken unguardedly of him, and certainly without any just reason or proper authority. Neither did he ascribe any illiberal motives to the respectable editor of Dr. Parr's works in retaining the objectionable passage alluded to. On the contrary, as the sheet containing it was sent to Oxford; as the doctor marked the part to be cancelled; as it appears that some cancel was made, and that notwithstanding the objectionable passage is retained; the retention of it, it should seem, must be ascribed rather to some mistake of the printer, than any oversight or any design of the editor.

I remain, Sir, yours,

VIATOR.

*Original Letter of* SIR WILLIAM JONES.

There is reason to believe that the following letter from Sir Wm. Jones has never appeared in print before its present publication: for a copy of it we must acknowledge our obligations to Lady Chambers, of Putney (widow of Sir Robert Chambers, late Chief Justice in Bengal). From the universality of his extraordinary acquirements, Sir Wm. Jones obtained and justly merited the title of "all-accomplished:" and among the various circumstances that chiefly contributed to acquire for him so ho-

norable a distinction, was his peculiar felicity in epistolary composition. For the proof of this assertion we may refer our readers to the numerous letters published by Lord Teignmouth in his interesting Memoirs of Sir William Jones's Life. The letter here given was addressed to "Mr. Joseph Fowke," who had lent to Sir William an Essay on Music: it is dated at the Court-house (in Calcutta), March 25, 1785.

"Dear Sir,

"I return your Essay on the Chronometer with sincere thanks for the pleasure it has given me. The business of the term which engages most of my time has been the cause of my keeping your work so long. It is written *con spirito*; but as I agree with you that English words are better than Italian, I would rather say (and I say it without compliment) that it is very animated. I am particularly pleased with your strictures on the scampering helter-skelter performance of those musicians, who, like some of our modern orators, mistake volubility for eloquence, and confusion for passion. Perhaps it is vanity that makes me relish your tract; for I cannot dissemble that I am pleased to find my taste confirmed by yours. I may, probably, be too fastidious; but in truth I can scarce hear an English concert with patience, much less with pleasure; and I have reason to believe, from the confession of Marranti, as well as from my own observation, that a just taste for true expression, natural simplicity, and distinct articulation, is declining even in Italy.

"I am, &c. &c.

"W. JONES."

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